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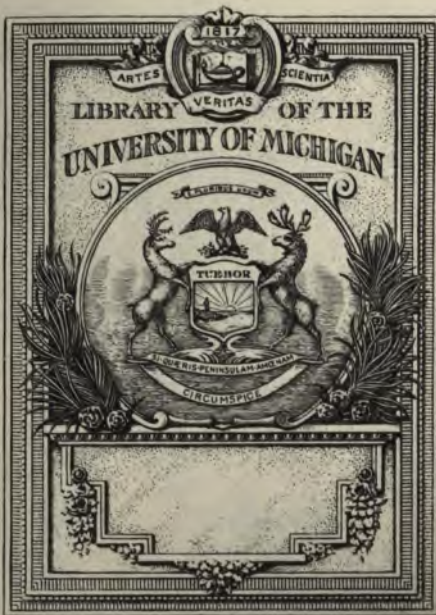
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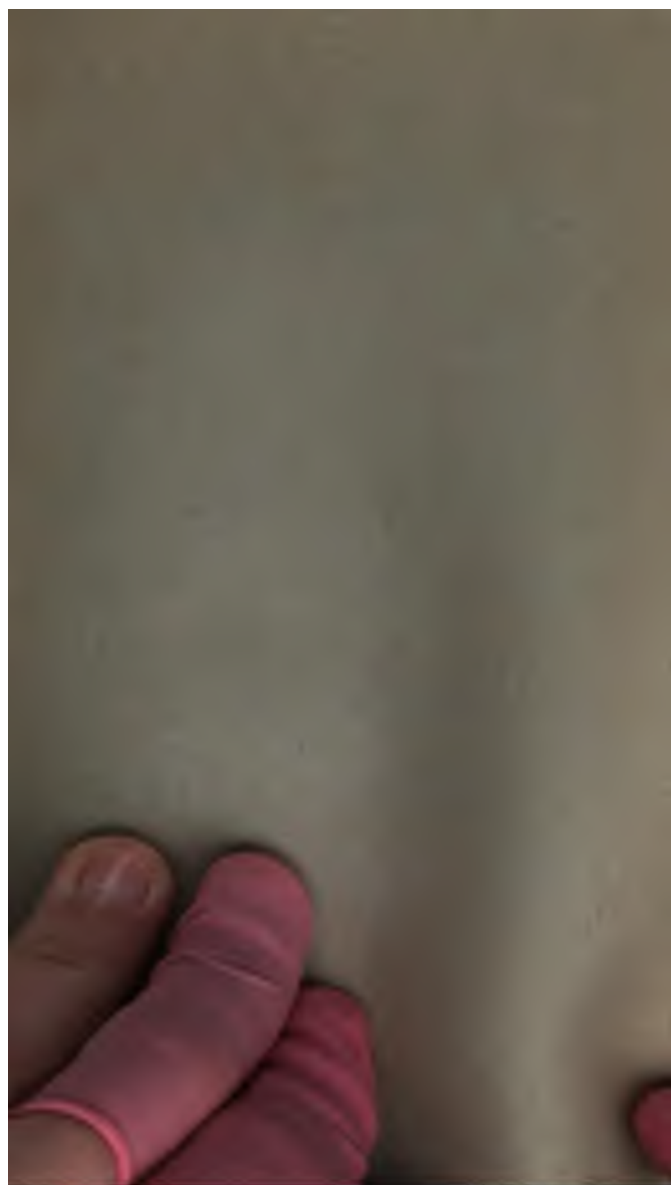
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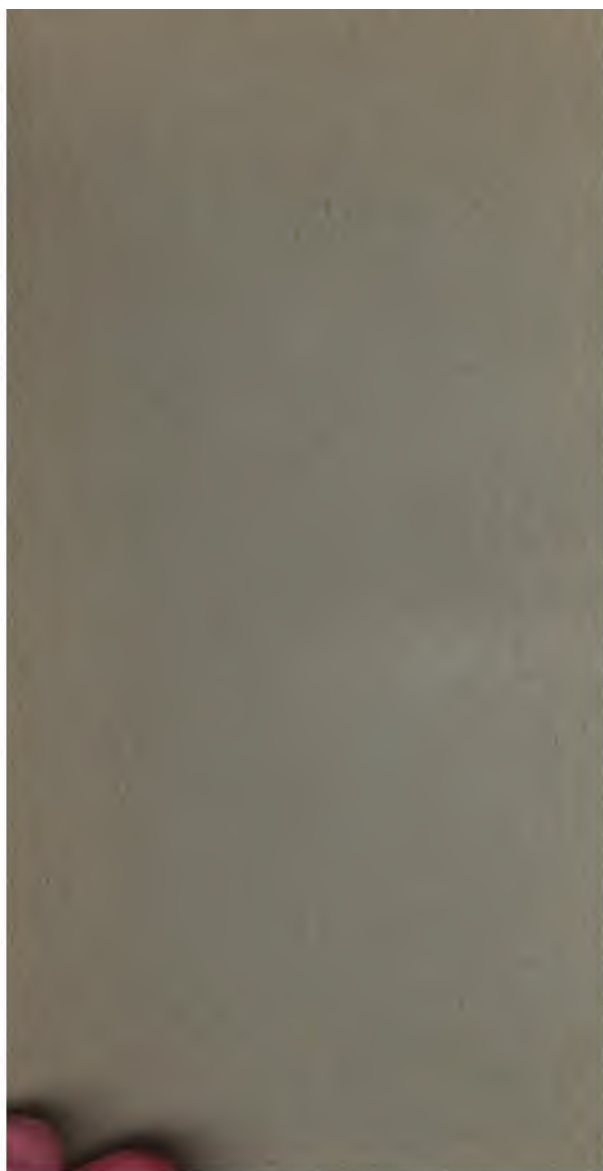
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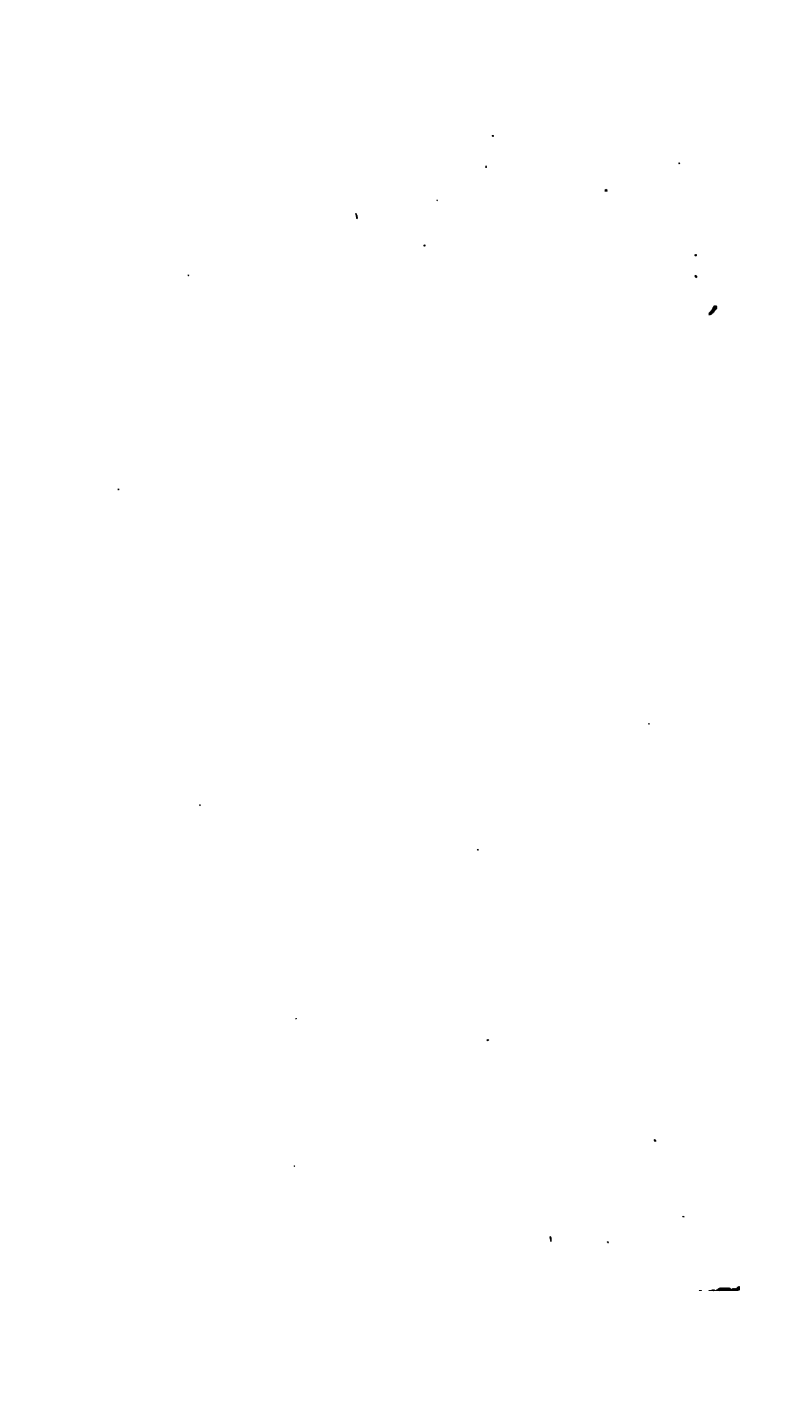














*A. Walker del. et sculp.*

Magna est veritas et prevalebit.

A  
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F O R  
**L O W S P I R I T S.**

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COLLECTION of curious TRACTS.

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Author of the INDEPENDENT WHIG, and other  
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MILTON.

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# THE PREFACE.

**T**HESE Volumes made their first appearance some years ago, in separate publications; when, in general, they were well received by the friends of truth and liberty, many of whom expressed their high approbation of the work, and greatly promoted the sale.

That they are now republished is owing to their scarcity, and to the continued demand for them.

At the same time I have taken occasion of enriching the work with additional traits, to render it still more complete: and I hope these additions will be found equally instructive and entertaining to the reader.

But lest the purchasers of this new edition should apprehend any future publication, with farther improvements; I here declare, that as this edition is the best, it shall be the last from my Hands.

A 2

Cordials

1787



*Cordials should not be made too cheap, or too common : therefor, let these volumes be consecrated to the delight and entertainment of the discerning few.*

SIC VOLO.

*The first end proposed in making this collection was to preserve from oblivion Mr. Gordon's tracts, whose merit, as a writer, will be confessed by all candid men, and competent judges. Our language is much indebted to him for many excellent productions. The Independent Whig, Cato's letters, the Humorist, the translation of Tacitus, and discourses on that author, to which may be added the discourses on Sallust ; are noble monuments of his genius, and will transmit his name with honour to posterity.*

*That the tracts ascribed to him in the first volume of this collection (and to those only have I put his name) were really written by him, is well known to some of his intimate friends still living.*

*The two apologies for Cardinal Alberoni first recommended him to the favour and friendship of Mr. Trenchard, from which he reaped such great advantages. See his preface to Cato's letters.*

*In Mr. Collins's catalogue (a book still extant in the libraries of the curious) these tracts*  
are

## P R E F A C E.

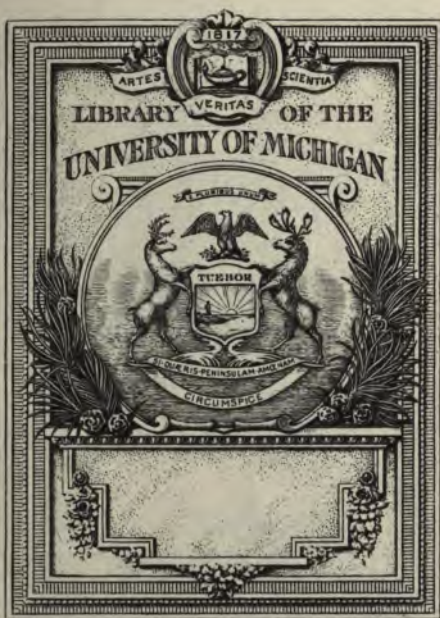
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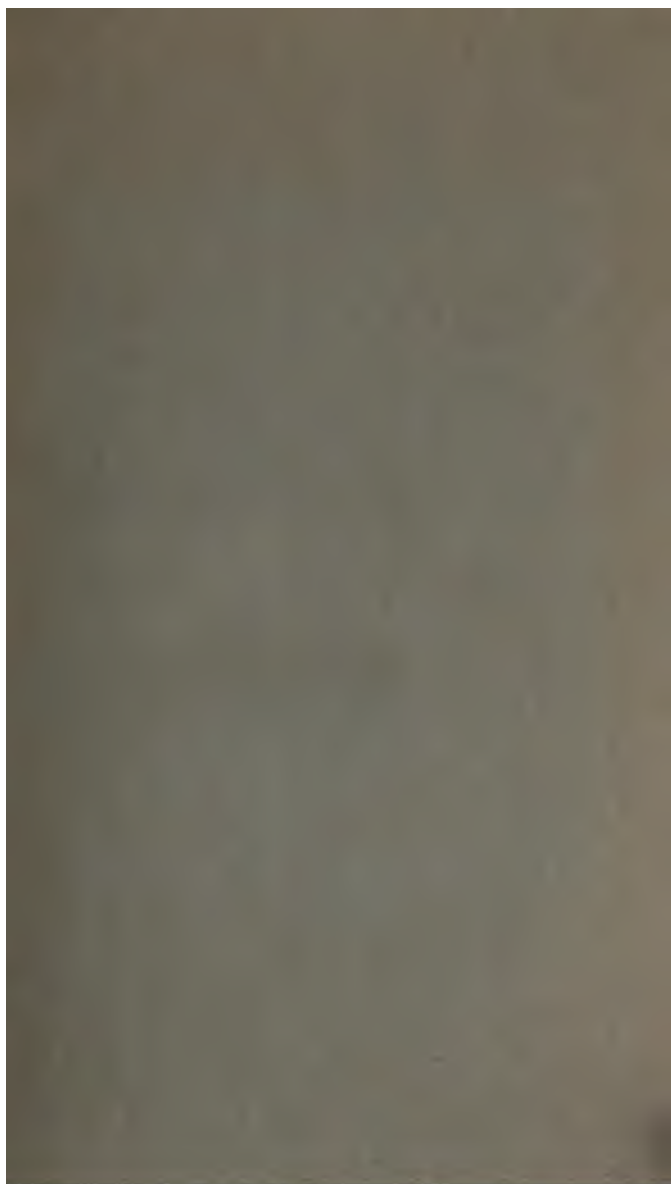
*are ascribed to Mr. Gordon : and from the tract, entitled, the character of an Independent Whig (which was published before the weekly paper under that name) he borrowed several paragraphs ; as the reader will see by comparing that tract with the forty first number of the Independent Whig, vol. II.*

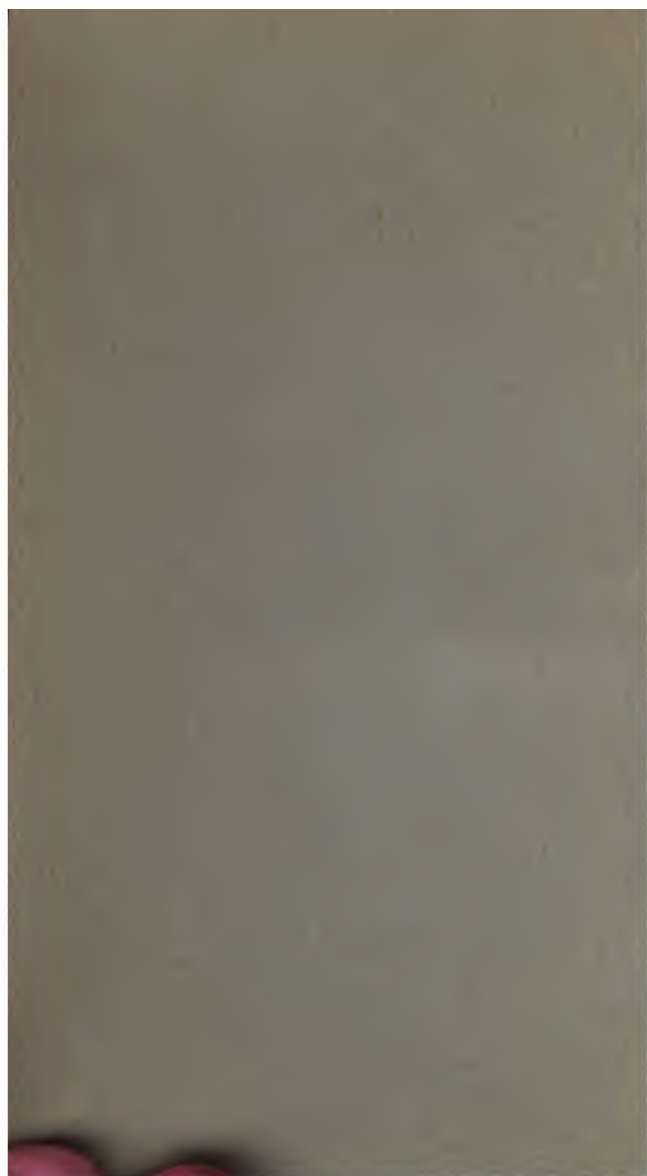
*Moreover, it is known to me, that Mr. Gordon himself had a design of republishing these tracts, and of adding them to the Independent Whig ; which, with such additions as he intended would have made a fifth volume of that valuable work : but in this design he was prevented by death.*

*I only add, that if any doubt still remains concerning this matter, the curious reader may satisfy himself by writing to Mr. Gordon's son, a learned and eminent counsellor in Jamaica : and long may he live, and flourish, for his father's sake !*

*I am sorry that I cannot gratify the reader's curiosity with the names of all other writers in this work. After the most exact enquiry, I have not been able to get any certain information concerning them : and the reason of such writers concealing their names will appear to every man, who considers the danger of attacking priestcraft and sacerdotal beraldry, or of opposing opinions that have wealth and po-*

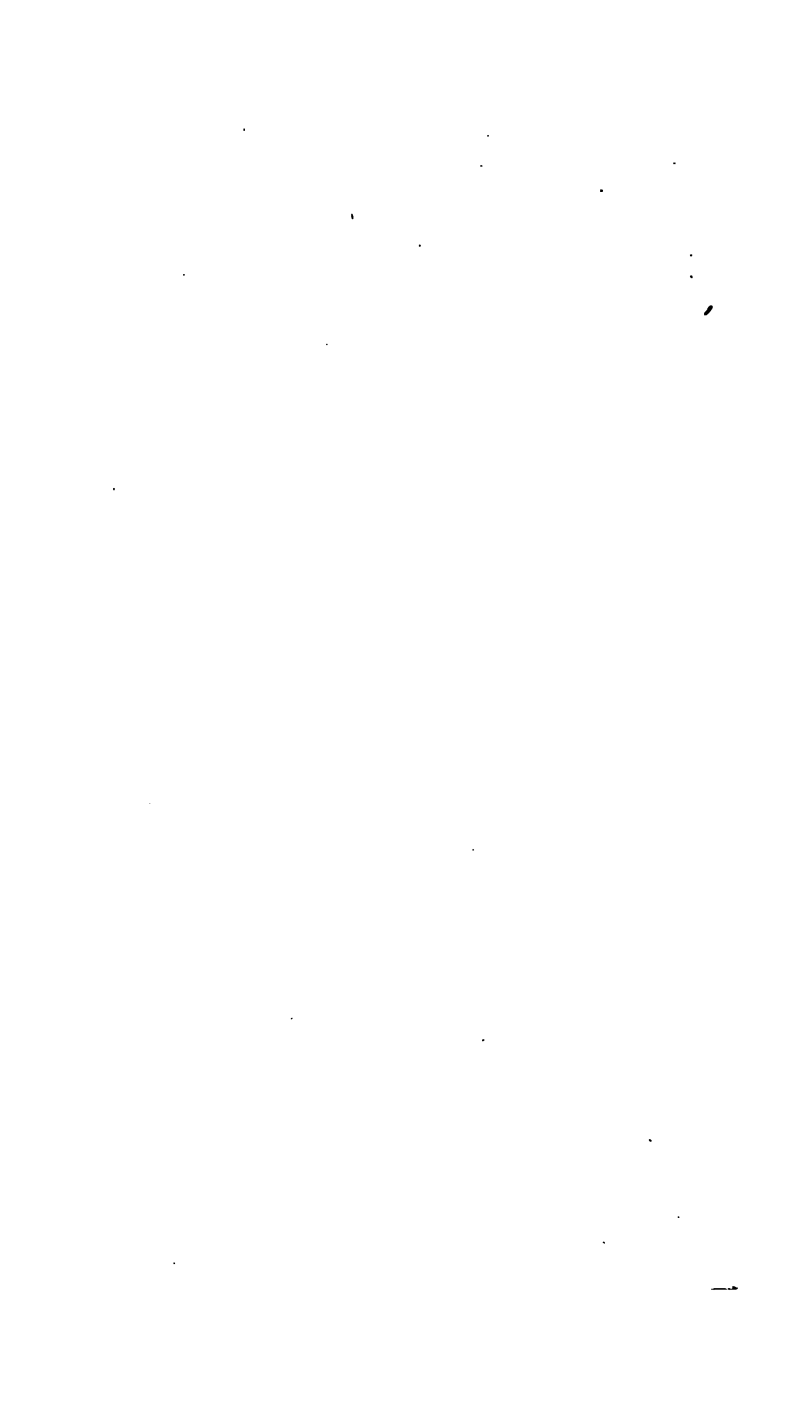














The negative of these questions will infer that all religions are alike ; and of traditionary revelations we are left at full liberty to choose that, which appears most beneficial to human society, since none of them can pretend to divine authority more than the rest, but in that respect are all on a level.

These reasonings can never affect the truth of Christianity with men that understand the scriptures, but they are unanswerable objections to its divine authority, when absurd doctrines are fathered on the scriptures.

Therefore, if we have discovered that many texts of scripture have been misunderstood, and in consequence of such misinterpretation, that doctrines abhorrent to reason and altogether incredible have been taught as the doctrines of divine revelation ; is it not our duty to tell men so, and to publish our discoveries to the world ? Verily, a consistent belief of divine revelation, and a reverence for the great and holy name of God requires this at our hands : we hereby render faith in his word more easy, we remove the causes of unbelief in many, by shewing that the Christian faith is rational, that God makes it our duty to believe nothing but what is adequate to human understanding : whereas to smother the truth, and to band down errors and absurdities to posterity, be-  
cause

*cause they were received in our age, and had the sanction of human authority ; this confirms not with a love of God or man ; this confirms many in infidelity ; this were a ready way to make men think all revelation to be human imposture.*

*I hope these arguments will be a sufficient apology for the great freedom I have used on this subject ; which proceeds simply and purely from a love of truth, and not from a party spirit, or from rancour and bitterness to any man, or to any set of men whatsoever.*

*I profess myself to be a real believer in the divine authority of the scriptures, and I am most zealous for the credit and support of Christianity in the world. But at the same time I declare, and I judge it my duty as a Christian to declare, that I cannot assent to the creed of Athanasius, or of Arius, or of the Nicean council ; all which appear to me to be absurd, and impossible to be true, and equally inconsistent with reason and revelation.*

*And although the horrid wickedness and luxury of this age hath been one principal cause of the great infidelity now prevailing, at the same time I know, that many have rejected Christianity on account of the absurd doctrines that are taught and blended with it. All men do not use their reason in things of religion ;*

*religion ; but those that do, will not readily believe that to be divine, which shocks their understanding, and contradicts the first principles of natural religion.*

*Men may write in defence of Christianity, and produce arguments unanswerable in vindication of it, but what will such arguments and laboured defences avail, when a hierarchy is set up and maintained in the Christian church, in flat opposition to the precept and pattern of Christ Jesus ? A hierarchy, the race and lineage of that great scarlet whore, which hath corrupted the earth with her fornication !*

*In like manner, when Christian doctors teach the people to believe and adore what they cannot understand, a trinity in unity, and threaten them with damnation on refusal ; can men that exercise their reason, believe this to be a revelation from the God of all truth and grace ?*

*Doth not all nature assure us that God is one ? And did not Christ Jesus, that great prophet of God, confirm the truth, saying, There is one God, and no more ? If the Christian world hath been led into error in this great and fundamental article, are Christians never to be set right ? Indignation rises at the thought of such monstrous perversion,*

## PREFACE.

xv.

*tion, such abominable corruption of all religion! Therefore, I say, let the hierarchy be demolished, and the trinity be kicked out of doors.*

*To do the former, may be thought a hard work, if not impossible: but what hath lately happened to the Jesuits in Portugal and France, is a happy omen of the like glorious events in this free country. And I venture to prophesy, that the day will shortly come when their whole BABEL shall be pulled down by the mighty hand of truth and liberty.*

*The eyes of many are opened; almost all men complain of great waste and superfluity in the national church; they declare for a more equal division, for a competent maintenance, without pomp and wealth; as the latter never did serve, never can serve the interests of true religion: — and what remains, will help to pay off the national debt.*

*As to the Trinity, most reasonable men agree in rejecting it: and both the peculiar opinion of Arius, and the creed of the Nicean council, are now discovered to have no foundation in scripture. The late learned Dr. Clarke, who laboured with great honour and success in removing much religious rubbish, and many absurd doctrines and explications of scripture, hath in this matter been found to*  
have.

*have mistaken the meaning of some texts, into which mistake he was led by the prejudices of education. In short, the Arian scheme is built only on a few texts, such as are equivocal, and whose meaning may be litigated; not to say on some, whose authority may be disputed: Whereas the HUMANITY of CHRIST is solidly established by texts innumerable, and stands on the united evidence of reason and revelation.*

*The HUMANITY has been the general belief of rational Christians, of such as distinguished themselves by a Spirit of enquiry; witness the ever-memorable Mr. Hales of Eton, the most learned Dr. Jeffery of Norwich, the late excellent Dr. Benjamin Hoadly, Bishop of Winchester; with others that might be mentioned: to say nothing of the greatest divines in foreign churches, who bore their testimony to this truth: and had not the late Dr. Clarke, by his great judgment in other things, given a sort of sanction to the Arian hypothesis, and in the opinion of many almost precluded all examination of the scriptures; this great controversy had been long ago determined in favour of the HUMANITY.*

*But the brightest and fullest manifestation of this glorious truth seems to have been reserved*

*served by providence for the honour of this age, and as a most powerful check to the growth of infidelity ; such evidences of the humanity of Christ Jesus having been lately produced as many former ages were unacquainted with. For my meaning I refer the curious reader to Mr Lowman's tracts, where he will find the Arians beaten out of the main fort, which they had long held ; whence of necessity they are driven to give up the rest.*

*Mr. Lowman led the way, demolishing the outworks of the enemy ; Dr. Lardner followed, and cleared the field. No answer has appeared to their writings on this subject : no answer can be given. Dr. Chandler hath confessed, he cannot answer Mr. Lowman : and if he cannot, who can ?*

*All reasonable men have now declared for the HUMANITY ; Arianism having no advocates but among such as never examined the matter, the sons of absurdity, and the lovers of contradiction : men whose pride is engaged to defend what they have formerly advanced and asserted ; and whose opposition to the truth seems to arise from hence, that they were not so happy as to discover it, and who want the modesty to confess themselves mistaken : in short, men to whom may be applied the well known words of QUINTILIAN, Multi ad sapienti-*  
am

am pervenire potuissent, nisi se jam pervenisse putassent: *that is, many might have been wise men, had they not thought themselves already so: and I add, men, who care not to what scorn they expose the sacred writings, if they can but secure themselves and their own notions from contempt. Miserable sinners! we pray for you.*

*Perhaps the reader will think that I have dwelt too long on this subject, but its great importance is my excuse: and, I conclude this article with observing, that Sir Isaac Newton predicted this restoration of primitive truth, in those memorable words to Mr. Haynes,\* the time will come, when the doctrine of the incarnation as commonly received, shall be exploded as an absurdity equal to trans-*

\* *Hopton Haynes, Esq.* who was author of several writings well known to the curious: he served many years in the *Mint-Office* under *Sir Isaac Newton*, and at the time of his death had a place in the *Exchequer*. (I think he died in the year 1749.) He was the most zealous unitarian I ever knew: and in a conversation with him on that subject, he told me that *Sir Isaac Newton* did not believe our Lord's pre-existence, being a *Socinian*, as we call it, in that article; that *Sir Isaac* much lamented *Mr. Clarke's* embracing *Arianism*, which opinion he feared had been, and still would be, if maintained by learned men, a great obstruction to the progress of Christianity. *Note.* No man had searched the scriptures more than *Sir Isaac Newton*, or understood them better: and if men will set up names for authorities in this matter, we have the *greatest* name on our side!

transubstantiation ! *thanks be to God ! we see the day.*

## TANDEM TRIUMPHANS.

*Having cleared the stage of absurdities in faith, and demolished our creed-mongers, I now judge it necessary to vindicate my self from a base imputation of falshood.*

*In the preface to a former edition of this work I told the following story of Dr. Codex\* :—that during the time of his lording it over Lincoln, he had excited and caused more prosecutions in that diocese, for tythes and other ecclesiastic demands, than there had been from the reformation down to his day : and I said, that I had received this account from a gentleman who never told a lie.*

*The truth of this story was then warmly contested by Dr. W. who having married a daughter of Codex thought himself bound to vindicate his character. But how did he disprove the story?—by denying it, and calling me a liar. Poor man ! was a charge of such high nature to be removed by a simple denial, when the falshood of it should have been proved by authentic*

\* Dr. Codex, a name given to Dr. Gibson, a late B. shop. of London.



*authentic vouchers, the records of that diocese? the friends and admirers of Dr. Codd had it in their power to know the truth of the story by consulting those records; and to have still the same materials to confute it, false, and to stab my reputation for ever. I knew too well the great honour and integrity of the gentleman upon whose authority I told the story, to be in any doubt about the truth of it: and I am willing that a strict search be made into the fact alledged, by examining the books in the public office of that diocese: yea farther; to give Dr. W. all possible advantage in this matter, at the foot of the page\* he will see a name not unknown to him, whose wearer is capable of determining this dispute in a moment.*

*During the time of these prosecutions the bishop was compiling his book, his body of ecclesiastical law, and then great was the cry of oppression in divers parts of the nation; the most expensive and vexatious methods were pursued, imprisonment or sequestration followed for the smallest matters, and new demands were still made; the quakers were trampled under foot as mire, and the church rode triumphant over all justice and humanity. Such insatiable avarice,*

\* The Reverend William Pendlebury, Rector of Burythorp, in the county of York.

*avarice, such merciless cruelty reigned in the heart of Gibson †!*

*As an aggravation of such unboly, such ungodly, such damnable and diabolical doings; they were pretended to be for supporting the church of Christ! With equal justice might robberies and cut-throats pretend to be his ministers and ambassadors!*

*I should be partial, if I neglected this occasion of observing, that the proud, priestly, domineering spirit was not peculiar to Gibson: more modern times can shew a prelate, whose head seems intoxicated with notions of sacerdotal power, and his heart full fraught with a spirit of persecution. A late Bishop of Oxford gave this advice to his clergy, not to renounce those powers which the gospel had given them: and not to recede from any of those privileges derived from human authority. The Prelate I mean has for many years been a great supporter of churchmanship and orthodoxy: whom the offer of a golden prebend at Durham, with commendams, and the more distant prospect of mitres, thrones, and dominations,*

† To know Bishop Gibson's true character, I refer the reader to Mr. Whiston's *Memoirs of his own Life*, the first edition, without the castrations,

tion, first reconciled to mysteries, and ecclesiastical riddles, to tripersonality and hypostatical union; yea, to the whole mass of absurdities, he had formerly ridiculed and despised: whose conversion to Christianity was so sudden and quick, that some of his friends pretended it was miraculous and extraordinary; that he was called by a singular act of grace; but whether by a personal appearance of Jesus, (which some of our Methodists speak of) or by some powerful impression on his mind, they did not tell the world. For my part, I believe his call was from eyeing the rich robes at Durham \*, as he hath always manifested a great love of pomp and state. But one thing is certain, that his subsequent life and labours have been full of zeal for the church. How happy is it for our church, that wealth and honour are tacked to its creeds! what a strong support! what numerous advocates, what huge volumes, hath this fortunate circumstance produced! Were reason and truth the way to worldly dignity and honour, what would become

\* The Robes of the prebendaries at Durham are superb and rich beyond any thing to be seen in popish countries. There is a saying of a Scots gentleman on seeing those fine dresses, that the women of Babylon went from thence in a great hurry, for that she had left all her trumpery behind her.

*come of our creeds ? I fear that neither the creed of Athanasius, nor of Arius, nor of the Nicean council, would have any advocates : and as for mysteries, there would not be one left. Verily, the church would be stript of all her ornaments !*

*But let us briefly examine the contents of his sage advice to the clergy. They must not renounce those powers which the Gospel hath given them ! I solemnly declare, that in the scriptures I can find no power, nor authority given to any men, except the apostles, who had special gifts to confirm and attest their mission from Jesus : and therefor I conclude, that all commissions to preach the Gospel, to teach authoritatively, and to baptize the nations, terminated in them. Have we any word of God but what they published to the world, and left in their writings ? Præthee, then, —————, teach not the clergy to assume the title of ambassadors or ministers of Jesus ; since all such titles and pretensions to succession and authority are mere mimicry, and will expose thee and thy clergy to contempt.*

*But the worst is still behind——Recede not from any of those privileges derived from human authority. What ! must they maintain their privileges, whether useful or*  
hurtful

*hurtful to Society? Legal privileges will hardly satisfy a wise and good man, but he will consider the natural justice and equity of them, and their consistency with other men's rights and privileges. If out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh, what but a corrupt, covetous, proud heart could dictate such advice as this? How sad a thing is it, that such poison should come from the tongue and pen of a Christian? How ought we to rend our garments at hearing of such advice? The spirit of Christianity is wholly unknown to such men: they are wolves in sheep's clothing, the ministers of antichrist, who under the colour and pretence of religion, are driving on a trade for this world, and making the gospel an engine for profit and pride and ambition. Maintain all your privileges, quoth he, whether honestly got, or knavishly come by! Are these then the fruits of your liberal education, of your learning, and your studies, to defend any thing right or wrong? How can oppressive privileges, and wicked laws be abolished; when such men study to maintain and support them?*

*Are these the men, whose profession and business it is to lead others to peace and holiness; to teach humility and meekness, and to be patterns of all goodness? How to reconcile*

*reconcile such advice to the gospel of Christ, and the great design of his religion, is out of my power. Indeed, such men may believe in Christ, and they may keep so many of his commandments as are necessary to cover their hypocrisy; but it is manifest that the world and the devil are in their hearts.*

*Such advice was only becoming a man, who told the clergy in his first visitation-charge at Canterbury, that he would make Dr. Potter his pattern! Dr. Herring, it seems, was too good a Christian, to be imitated by —————. I love a man that is frank and open, that tells us plainly what he designs to do, and whose life and actions are consistent with his verbal declarations. Dr. Potter, it is well known, was a violent enemy to all free enquirers, and in the Bangorian controversy joined Snape, Trap, and other high-church wolves to shake and worry bishop Hoadly, that great free enquirer! Where then was the wonder, that ————— should go foaming to court, and solicit a prosecution of a late free enquirer\*, as this was act-*  
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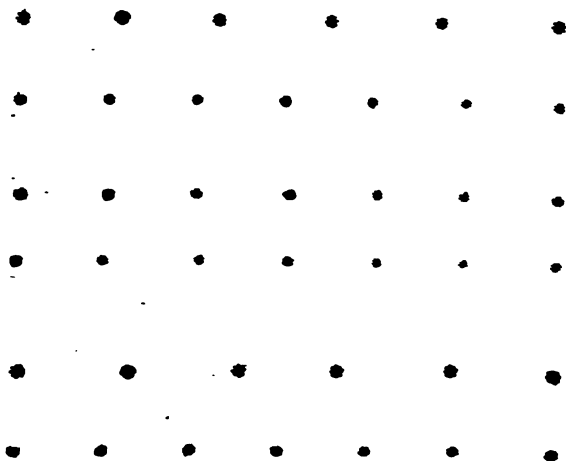
\* *Peter Anet*, author of a weekly paper entitled the *Free Enquirer*, who was lately prosecuted in the *King's Bench*, and sentenced to suffer one month's imprisonment in *Newgate*, to stand twice in the pillory, and to be kept to hard labour for one year in *Bridewell*.

# PREFACE.

xxvi

*ing in character, in imitation of his pattern ?  
From such a man it were folly to expect the  
meekness and gentleness of Christ Jesus, those  
virtues not comporting with his professed reso-  
lution to resemble Dr. Potter !*

*But this act of violence, this outrage against  
all humanity* \* \* \*



well. The poor man is near 73 years of age, and without charitable contributions he must perish under his sentence.

To what punishment *persecuting prelates* shall hereafter be condemned, I pretend not to say : the righteous Judge of the whole earth will do right : but, perhaps, hard labour, and to work in hell, like *Milton's* devils, may be their doom.

P R E F A C E.      xxvii

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RICHARD BARON.  
*Blackbeath, May 17, 1763.*

*P. S. The next service in this glorious cause  
will be a republication of the pillars of priest-  
craft and orthodoxy shaken, in three volumes,  
with large additions.*

Ex pede *Hercules*.







THE  
CONTENTS  
OF THE  
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I.  
**D**EDICATION to a Great Man  
concerning Dedications, by Mr.  
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II.  
*A learned Dissertation upon old Wo-*  
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III.  
*A modest Apology for Parson Alberoni.*  
By Mr. Gordon.

IV.  
*A modest Apology for the Danger of the*  
*Church. By Mr. Gordon.*

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A  
DEDICATION  
TO A  
GREAT MAN,  
CONCERNING  
DEDICATIONS.

Discovering,  
Amongst other wonderful SECRETS, what  
will be the present posture of affairs a  
thousand years hence.

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*Laus & Vituperium.*

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From the 6th Edition, Printed in the  
YEAR 1719.

With a PREFACE.

VOL. I.

B

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T H E  
P R E F A C E.



*Passage or two in this little essay having been liable to exceptions, without my foreseeing it, I am very ready to explain them. By the Jewish pretender, is meant Abfolom; and what is said about the bible, is so far from any satyr on that sacred book, that it is manifestly, and only, one upon them who make but little or no use of it.*

*As to the characters and inscriptions at the end, I still think them so just, that I am not like to repent of them; which may serve to shew me as much a friend to well grounded panegyric, as I ever shall be a foe to all false colouring. There is no such thing as praise and blame, where they are not applied; and, as I take upon me to, expose the one, I think I need ask no pardon for attempting to praise the other.*

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A  
**DEDICATION**  
TO A  
**Great MAN,**  
Concerning  
**Dedications, &c.**

*My LORD,*



OUR lordship and I are not at all acquainted, I therefore take leave to be very familiar with you, and to desire you to be my patron, because you do not know me, nor I you: nor can this manner of address seem strange to your lordship, whilst it is warranted.

#### 4      *A CORDIAL for LOW SPIRITS.*

ranted by such numerous precedents. I have known an author praise an earl for twenty pages together, though he knew nothing of him, but that he had money to spare. He made him wise, just, and religious, for no reason in the world, but in hopes to find him *charitable*; and gave him a most bountiful heart, because he himself had a most empty stomach. This practice being general, it is a very easy matter to guess, by the size of the panegyric, how wealthy the patron may be, or how hungry the author; if it exceeds three pages, you may pawn all the blood in your body upon it, the writer has fasted three days; and that his lordship, among all his other good parts, has at least ten thousand pounds a year.

From all this we may learn, that a great man's fortune is as easily known from a dedication to him, as from the rent-roll of his estate; and that his bounty to the author, is only wages for publishing his wealth to the world.

It is likewise evident, that no lord of a low fortune must expect an humble admirer among us wits and writers, unless he bargain with us at a set price, and give us so much a piece for every good quality he has occasion for.

We must not therefore judge of the *high and mighty*, as they are described in the frontispiece of books and poems. Your *dedicators* are a

fore

sort of *intellectual tailors*, that cut out cloaths for a great man's mind without ever taking measure of it. They have, indeed, two rules from which they never depart: first, the dress must be *gaudy*; and, secondly, it must *never fit*. Their business is to make it of a vast dimension, and to cover it all over with *tinsel*. If the suit be bulky and shining, the poet has the reputation of a skilful *tradesman*; for the *stuff* and the *exactness* are never consulted.

I would, upon this occasion, congratulate the quality upon the advantage which it is to them, to have their characters drawn by such as either do not, or dare not, know them; and consequently will be sure not to put their graces, and lordships, and ladyships, out of countenance—— A convenient piece of good breeding I for which, I hope, they are thankful.

For myself, when I see a long drift of excellencies and talents crammed down a nobleman's throat, who has no relish of them, or right to them, I am not at all surprized, because I am sure it is not meant as an encomium upon his honour, but meerly as a declaration of the author's wants, and a heavy complaint of nakedness and hunger.

Some may reckon a dependance on a great man the best reason and foundation for *dedicating* to him; but I am not of their opinion.



For my part, I have no manner of dependance on any *star and garter* in *Great-Britain*, as any one may observe from the chearfulness of my looks and the integrity of my life: I own, that setting up for a writer, I judged it convenient to me and my book, to call in your lordship for an assistant, but no farther than just to set off and honour my title-page. I at first, indeed, intended to let the whole credit of the thing remain with you, by entitling my pamphlet, *An Essay of a Man of Quality*: but my bookseller, who is a smoaky fellow, and understands the pulse of the people perfectly well, fell into a great rage, and asked me for the five shillings again, which he had advanced to me, by way of encouragement, a week before. He told me, he had neither pleasure nor profit in selling *waste paper* to the grocers at two pence a pound. Why, says he, the famous *Daffy* might as rationally have writ *aqua fortis* upon his elixir: *An Essay of a Man of Quality*! if I were to chain the book to my compter, it would not make it a more everlasting shopkeeper than this very title: it is as bad as a spell; and the most adventurous reader will not presume to open the book that is fortified with it. — No, no; if you must have the front of your book embellished with something of *title*, you may call

call it, *A Letter to a Great Man* : since you do not name him, People will naturally imagine there is something in it exceeding saucy and satirical ; and that very thought will make your pamphlet popular.—I have followed his advice, and am the other five shillings the richer for it.

But, as I was telling your lordship, reliance on a great man is not a good reason for *dedicating* to him ; for either he will receive the present of your praise as a just tribute for such your dependance, (and then where is your pay, and the due hire of your sweat and invention ?) or else he will reward you with a sort of coin called *promises*, stamped with his honour, but never current amongst shopkeepers and victuallers. Alas ! who will give you an ell of cloth or a cut of beef upon it ? it is a lamentable thing the world should be arrived to such a pitch of ill-breeding, that now-a-days a great man's word and honour are as little minded by the rest of the world, as by himself.

And so I will proceed to assert, that the only proper patron for an author to inscribe his works to, is one to whom he is an utter stranger, who having had no manner of commerce with the aforefaid author, can understand his dedication to be nothing else but an elegant demand for such a sum of ready money. Dedica-

tions are therefore bills of exchange, drawn by the witty upon the great, and payable at sight. But, lest the worthy offering should not be understood, or recompensed as it ought to be, through the deplorable ignorance of the quality, whose high characters place them far above the reach of knowledge and the impulses of humanity, I have, for the benefit of my worthy companions in the labours of the standish, drawn up the following form, with which I would have all dedications to conclude.

*To the Right Honourable Dives Earl of Widefield,  
Debtor to Paul Poorwit, for the following goods  
sold and delivered.*

*l. s. d.*

*Imprimis*, For a large stock of learn-  
ing, very much wanted ——— } 02 10 00

*Item,* For a barrel of rare eloquence,  
admired by all the world, but  
never yet used ———— } 05 00 00

*Item, For as much justice and honour*  
*as a great man has occasion for* } 00 61 1 1/2

Item, For a hoghead of courage that  
never saw the fun, ———— } 10 00 00.

*Item,* For half a pound of wit and humour, being all I had to spare, but very good in their kind, and dog cheap, ————— } OI OO OO

**Item,**

# A CORDIAL for LOW SPIRITS. 9

<i>Item,</i> For a long line of lineage, and great quantities of ancient blood, neither of them measured, but on- ly guessed at, _____	} 05 00 00
<i>Item,</i> For praising your ancestors, un- known, _____	} 01 10 00
<i>Item,</i> For admiring your lady's beauty unsight, unseen, _____	} 00 10 00
<i>Item,</i> For a graceful person, all of my own making, _____	} 02 10 00
<i>Item,</i> For several thimble-fulls of ge- nerosity, a scarce commodity ! _____	} 00 02 05

---

Sum Total 28 03 6½

*My Lord,*

‘ I Have sent you the abovementioned goods,  
‘ being the best my garret affords, and at the  
‘ lowest price. I hope they will please you.  
‘ You will find in the cargo several things  
‘ I have not *item’d*, viz. A large parcel of vir-  
‘ tue, and another of good-nature ; because I  
‘ knew you wanted them as much as any of the  
‘ rest.—— These two articles will raise the  
‘ whole to at least even thirty pounds ; and I  
‘ have drawn a bill upon your lordship accord-  
‘ ingly, which I beg your lordship to pay at  
‘ sight ; for, I assure you, I have had pressing  
‘ occasion for the money long before it was due,

B 5

‘ I might

to *at Court for Low Straits.*

‘ I might have found chapmen for these goods  
‘ among very many of the nobility and gentry,  
‘ as unprovided with them as yourself; but out  
‘ of pure respect to your lordship, I resolved  
‘ you should have the refusal ——— In firm  
‘ expectation of your approaching bounty;

*I am,*

*My LORD,*

*Your lordship's most obliged,*

*Most devoted,*

*Most obedient,*

*Most, &c.*

In this plain manner would I have authors treat their patrons. The said thirty pounds may probably be all the poet's stock; and wits, dealing the least upon credit, either in selling or buying, of any *trading people* in the world, have the more occasion for ready money.

Your lordship may by this perceive, how I expect to be treated and rewarded for the following panegyric on yourself.

In attempting your character, (to use the fashionable phrase) I shall begin with the antiquity of your house, equally old and illustrious. Your ancestors won honours, and you, my lord, wear them; how well they become you, I need not say, the same being as evident  
to

to the whole world as to me. You would, no doubt, acquire new ones, were there any room left for them; but what occasion have you to toil and struggle for that which is already provided for you by others? and it is a plain instance of your consummate prudence, that your ease is by no means interrupted by any the least pursuit of this kind. If any dare insolently call in question your glory, shew them your coat of arms, and the number of your manors; strike them dumb, by telling them of the nobility of your blood, and blind, by shewing them the splendor of your race.

Nobility is held by patent, and where is the necessity of another tenor by virtue? a piece of parchment is a much more portable instrument. Your lordship seems apprized of the difficulty of excelling in any thing, and therefore wisely forbears drudging for fame. Your ancestors excelled for you: they, by having many accomplishments, have saved you the trouble of having any. The lustre of their names shines still upon you, though exceedingly weakened by the length of the journey, having spent many of its rays in its passage through three or four generations who wanted its influence as much as yourself. Thus, if we trace the merit of a great family, it is like the course of a river inverted, largest towards the fountain.

## 12      *A CORBIAL for LOW SPIRITS.*

Should any one make an ill-bred comparison (which God forbid) betwixt your lordship and the founders of your house, you could shew him, or I for you, that you possess several arts and acquirements, which the old fashioned fellows, with all their abilities and long beards, were utter strangers to. If one of your forefathers was a great orator, and could do wonders with his mouth, your lordship is as dextrous in the exercise of the organ next to it, and can take snuff with great volubility of nostril. What though another of your grandfathers was an able politician, a person of great cunning and brains? the outside of his head was not half so well instructed as your own: you have more curls in the covering of yours, than he had wiles in the lining of his: his was equipped by painful study, yours is edified by your painful barber. A third was a brave soldier, but were he put to handle your cane or your snuff-box, he would be at as great a loss, as you, my lord, would be to handle his truncheon. A fourth sat up at nights, and lived by his clients; but your lordship, more happy and less learned, lies a bed all day, and lives by your tenants. All these laboured for your grandeur and support, foreseeing, as one would imagine, that you would have need of their aid,

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mid. And it cannot be denied, that it is possible one may be *so great a man* as to be good *for little*. Wisdom and worth, we see, cannot be entailed like titles and acres. It were, indeed, to be wished, that a wise head and an honest heart could beget their likeness, and that famous men could transmit their parts with their titles to their posterity; but since that cannot be, their descendants must comfort themselves with being a-kin to merit, though ever so remotely.

Nothing is more frequent and natural, than to value ourselves upon that which is none of ours. Of this I have, in my time, seen several merry instances. I knew a thresher in *Wiltshire*, who was so elevated upon his brother's being made a parson, and promoted to a curacy of twenty pounds a year, that he threw away his flail, as a discredit to one who was nearly related to so great a man, and betook himself to poaching in the river, as a more gentleman-like way of life. It was observed of him, that ever afterwards he rolled his stockings, whereas he had before always humbly buttoned his breeches over them. It is said, he threatens to leave the village where he was born, because the ill-bred inhabitants still continue to stile him no higher than bare *Gaffer Thump*,



**24**     *At Cordias for Low Brothers.*

*Thomp*, as they used to do, notwithstanding that his brother is a curate: but it is thought this high-spirited person will be disappointed, for that no parish will receive him without a certificate. I would, out of the benignity of my nature, comfort all great men, who have noble blood but vulgar understandings, with the repartee of a *west country* blacksmith, who, in a dispute with a barber that called him an ignorant fellow, answered, with equal scorn, *that though he could neither read nor write, his father had been game-keeper to the lord of a manor*. The barber, who was but the son of a hawker, finding himself out-matched in family, very respectfully gave up the dispute to his betters.

It is scarce to be perceived how diffusive and multiplying a little good blood is: the increase of the blessed virgin's milk, by the magic and management of *papish* monks, is not more miraculous. How many thousands find themselves enriched by it, or rather impoverished! for nothing is more apt to turn the brain; and it is often got into the head, when there is not half a drop of it in the arteries.

We may observe, by the way, that we are ever nearest related to the greatest man of our blood, though removed seven generations from him.

him. If our great grandfather, for instance, was a wise man, and our grandfather and father a brace of fools, we skip the two last, and become, after a wonderful manner, the immediate descendants of the first. Thus a man becomes the very next in blood to, perhaps, the first of his name, who lived 300 years ago, and scorns to be in the least a kin to the person that begot him: You shall not meet with a *Jew* who is the son of his father ——— No, he is the son of *Abraham*, who has been dead so many thousand years, and yet is still forced to father a swarthy race of brokers and beggars. In the same manner has king *Cadwallader* begot every mother's son that has been born in *Wales* for five hundred generations. I know a lady, who is far gone in genealogy and pride, whose father had, with a great title and estate, a great faculty likewise of drivelling; him she never mentions, as being, I suppose, no ways related to him; but a great man of her name, who liv'd in the reign of *William Rufus*, is her good and right well-beloved kinsman ——— He was, I take it, either her uncle, or, at farthest, her cousin-german.

This picking and culling of our ancestors, (as if it lay at our mercy, after we are brought into the world, who should bring us thither) shews

shews great ambition, but small policy. For, certainly, we should be exceeding careful not to mention ourselves with such of our ancestors with whom we cannot stand a comparison. A dwarf may strut upon the shoulders of a giant; but still his dwarfship is the more conspicuous from the company he keeps; and many a man climbs only to shew his elevated littleness. This is all wrong.—— They that would appear tall, ought to converse only with the short, if they would take a natural method of coming at the scope of their ambition. I therefore approve the prudence and policy of our worshipful country esquires and fox-hunters, who, for the sake of having daily companions, at least something below themselves in speech and understanding, spend all their time with dumb creatures, and live and die among horses and dogs. An honest gentleman, whose speaking organs would be of no use to him in the senate or in conversation, shall be very eloquent in an assembly of hounds, and, with great force and fluency of throat, out-do his brother-orators in their own way. The wisdom of these worthies, who are educated in the kennel, goes farther yet; for every man chuses for his tutor that beagle whose voice he

he is most capable of imitating: infomuch, that as soon as I hear one of those academics begin his exercise, that is, to open, I can presently pronounce whose pupil he has been, whether bred under Doctor *Fowler*, or Doctor *Sweetlips*. At present Doctor *Ringwood* is more famous than all the rest, for the number of scholars he has trained up; I know several of them myself, and particularly a hopeful young gentleman, the eldest son of a baronet, who is a great proficient in this kind of throat-learning.—— It is believed he is now fit to head the pack himself, in the absence of his said master, the polite Doctor *Ringwood*. When this ingenious young heir displays his wind-pipe, his mother's heart beats for joy, and the old knight tells the company, with a wink and a nod, *Harry is father's own son*.—— Now thus far all is well, when ambition goes hand in hand with capacity. But, Sir *John*, not content with these excellencies in himself and his son, will be ever and anon mentioning the virtues and talents of his ancestors, who were, indeed, great men: however, the knight never concludes without insinuating his own praise, and that of his heir, by asserting, that not one of his forefathers could compass a bumper, or fill a hunting-horn.

Having

Having thus my lord, done justice to your pedigree, I shall proceed next to the consideration of your fortune.

The founders of families are generally provident enough to support the titles they leave behind them with suitable estates; which is a most commendable care! for, alas! as the world runs, what is blood without riches? money and land are the very touchstones of quality. Antiquity may be over-looked, but acres are *visible honours*. Nothing is more illustrious than a long rent-roll; without it the most founding and splendid patent has no power over the hearts or hats of an assembly. It is confessed, neither family nor riches make the least alteration in the human frame. An earldom cannot cure a stinking breath, nor make the skull half an inch thinner; and a great man may be a dwarf or a scoundrel, with half a million of money, or half a country in his possession. *Alexander the Great* had a wry neck, (perhaps with carrying the globe upon his back) of which the propriety of the world could not cure him. But I am only talking of *reputed*, and not *real*, greatness, and cannot but congratulate your lordship upon the *real* kindness which is done *you*, in particular, by this distinction.

You,

You, my lord, have a double right to respect, from your title, and from your affluence. The latter is indeed the less worthy ; and yet, such is the bigotry of the world to wealth, that were it not for *that*, the former would hardly be regarded. Nay, to deal ingenuously with your lordship, had I not known you to be rich, I should, perhaps, never have known you to be noble ; and then your lordship and I should never have been patron and client, nor mankind been instructed in your character. I would not therefore, for less than *thirty pounds*, that your lordship should have wanted this opportunity of obliging posterity and myself. Go on, *my lord*, in the paths of honour, that is, in the art of getting ; and continue to be deserving, that is, to be rich.

From your lordship's wealth it is natural enough to make a transition to your lordship's wit ; since, according to the laudable civility of the world, the man who has sufficiency of bags is sure to be endowed with sufficiency of brain. It is very observable that though wit has seldom or never the sense to fall into the road of gain, and therefore your witty men are the foolishest fellows in the world, that is to say, the poorest ; yet riches, on the contrary, never fail to dub a fool a wise man ; and a dunce no sooner ceases to be poor, but he is transmuted into a *shrewd cunning fellow*.

*fellow.* The reason of this must be that the wit of a poor man, lying only in the inside of his head, is altogether invisible and unregarded; whereas the wit and parts of the wealthy being entirely without the scull, and consisting of assets and effects, are honoured because they are obvious. A man, who has wit in chestsfuls, and a genius that consists of several manors, will never want the praises which are due to such uncommon talents. I could mention many worthy citizens who have vast capacities at sea, and are wonderfully witty in warehouses, and most ingenious in bank-stock, besides others whose abilities are as conspicuous in the *Exchequer*.

I cannot but lament, on this occasion, with a feeling concern, the invincible obstacles which hinder that unhappy wit, which is merely internal, from rising into notice and reputation. Alas! (*absit invidia verbo*) there is no wit at all in being hungry, and where is the jest of having but one shirt? a wig without buckle is but dull entertainment, and a threadbare coat has no manner of force upon the muscles. I can speak it from experience, there is no joke in an empty purse. I had therefore no expedient left to procure me a little wit, but the letting out my parts to hire, as I now  
do

to to your lordship. *Thirty pounds*, my lord, frugally managed, will make me a wise man for three months together. Your lordship, who hath talents of a vast extent, for several miles round you, and vast parts in cash and bank bills, has not only a sufficient bulk of penetration and wisdom to serve you for life, but will doubtless transmit the same substantial accomplishments undiminished to your posterity. My lord *Clarendon* tells us, that *Oliver Cromwell's* abilities seemed to raise in proportion to his advancement in power: and your lordship's wit and sense that are now so bulky, and of such mighty circumference, would certainly have been invisible to the *buzzard* world, to this hour, had not your fortune lifted them and you into observation.

I do not say all this to prove to your lordship, that your lordship has a great deal of wit; it is the last thing you want to be convinced of.——But it is my ambition to get myself a little wit and wisdom with your money, and it is but reasonable I should do something for it. I owe my landlady for a quarter's lodging, and my laundress for a month's washing; they are the two first whom I intend to satisfy that I am a sensible man: for I already find, by their four looks, they begin to question my parts. My shoe-maker  
too,



too, and several other tradesmen, want sadly to handle some proofs and instances of my wit and genius. It would be barbarous in your lordship to let me pass any longer for a fool amongst these fellows, whom one cannot live without. For a small matter of that sort of good sense, which is called money, I shall find admiration among them, and, which is better, credit and new shoes. I have often been witty to the best of my skill, at the tavern, over a bottle of wine; but the blockhead the vintner is so dull and covetous, that he can see no wit about me, but what I tell out between my finger and my thumb, a piece of ingenuity which I am not always master of. O the degeneracy of the age! *Ben Jonson* has frequently paid his reckoning in a couplet, and lived comfortably and merrily a whole winter's night upon a pun. Alas! I do not believe, in this iron age, a canto of an hundred staves would bring a quart of *Sherry*, or a pound of salmon. Many a wit would be forced to pawn his coat (if any person would take it) for a dinner, did not the charitable bookseller advance him half-a-crown on his new poem, and by that means pay him half in hand.

If a certain eminent merchant had not manifested his *uncommon understanding* in the uncommon

mon

men; number of his ships, and his *harmonious disposition* (tuneful would have done better) in the chiming of his bags, *the bluntness of the incomparable Mr. Durfey's nature* would never have raised so many *plauditory plants* in the large field of the said merchant's commendations: but that venerable lyric knew too well the *safeness of his patron's humour*, not to expect from it an order upon his goldsmith, where the *harmonious knight* keeps the *opulent marks* of his *uncommon understanding*. How large a taste he afforded Mr. *Durfy* of his parts, I know not; what I am to expect from yours, my lord, I know, and so will your lordship too, when you have perused this *uncommon dedication*.

I have, by this time, I hope with sufficient clearness, displayed to my readers, that is, to the whole world, *the quality and extent* of your lordship's wit. If I have but little to say of your eloquence, it is because you have hitherto shewn but little. But this is owing to nothing but choice and reservedness on your part: Your modesty, my lord, like a pot-lid, smothers the overflowings of your spirit, and suppresses the ebullition of your rhetoric. It becomes me to believe you could do wonders this way, if you would. Why will you thus neglect and conceal your abilities, and obstinately  
persist

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persist to be only a hearer in the senate. I do not question, but even this omission and seeming indolence is praise-worthy, and public-spirited. Your lordship, no doubt, considers, that the very listeners in public assemblies, are promoting the trade of their country, while they consume snuff, and wear out handkerchiefs. Thus is the interest of mankind advanced by idleness and incapacity itself.

Besides when I reflect how much tongue-artillery is daily wasted without doing the least execution, I must applaud it as a piece of prudence and humanity in your lordship, to avoid the shedding of innocent words. How many excellent orators have we, who are instructive without being understood, severe without being felt, and loud without being heard. What pity is this! commend me to those that sit still and take snuff, because they have nothing to say. I have often lamented and sighed in my closet, that men's tongues should have more speed than their understandings. When our spirits are heavy and grave, it is but reasonable the tongue should be shod with lead. But, alas! our chops, when once they are set a going, generally shew our intellects a pair of heels, and gallop away with such fleetness, that even the memory itself is distanced, as swift as it is.

Were

Were the tongue only to move by the direction of good sense, how many worthy *English* gentlemen and fine ladies would live and die secretly dumb? This putting of the jaws upon hard labour without profit, and committing a rape upon peoples ears without the consent of their hearts, is a notorious nuisance and breach of the peace. It is an offence to others, and a distemper in ourselves. This disease I call the *upward looseness*; and it is in several respects as nauseous as that below; nay, it sometimes equally affronts the sense of smelling, as when the speaker's lungs are not over orthodox, or so.

It is really a miserable case, that when a chattering booby finds himself loaded with a turbulent quantity of words and wind, which he has a mind to discharge, I must be obliged to stand the shot of his noise and nastiness for perhaps an hour or two together. This, I am sure, is contrary to the rules of equity and cleanliness; but it seems I am bound to it by the laws of courtesy and good breeding.

What I have here said of loquacity, concerns only private conversation: But when this insult upon our senses appears in public assemblies, it is yet more intolerable. Why must prating oafs (empty of every thing but froth and clamour) be for ever suffered, without rebuke,

to be spewing up their ill-scented crudities in the faces of men that are either wise or brave? I would humbly propose, for the ease of this Christian country, that whenever an orator of this sort begins to gape and strain, one of the company shall go up to him, and, taking hold of his button, tell him, *Sir, I am sorry to see you troubled with so violent a vomiting :* Or, perhaps, it may be more proper, without saying a word, to run with a chamber-pot, and hold it up to his chin. For this purpose, I would decree, that every place of public meeting in this island be provided with one or more of these *necessary vessels*, either to receive or restrain the overflowings of indigested oratory. If one of these *emetic speakers* cannot conveniently be come at, it is only crying, *To the chamber-pot ;* and, if he has shame in him, he will grow well, and sit down.

There is something exceeding insolent in these long-winded talkers. What right has any man living to lay an embargo upon my throat, when at the same time he keeps his own open? He that usurps the whole discourse, lays this modest injunction upon the whole company ; namely, *to be silent, and hear him.*

The ladies, indeed, who understand their privileges much better than we do ours, are not enslaved by our rules ; but, though there be a score  
of

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of them together, exert the faculty of speech all at once: And really, if we do but remember that it is their whole business and ambition to be only voluble, without troubling themselves with being intelligible, we cannot blame them for exercising their tongues, as they do their fans, in all weathers, merely for a little parade, or because they are used to it. Ladies, therefore, when they are fluttering either of these inoffensive instruments, ought not to be interrupted with the offer of the chamber-pot; for, if it be only the pravity of the intention that makes actions criminal, it is evident they can be no offenders, who speak without any intention at all. I know the fair prattlers are so overstocked with self-denial, that they will humbly disown this my justification of them, as what they do not deserve; but I am resolved to persist, and make them innocent in spite of themselves. But as for those of my own sex, who are addicted to purge at the mouth, I shall never revoke my decree against them, or any of them, except such as honour the truth, and freely confess, that though they talk much, they mean nothing. And, indeed, it cannot be denied, that very many well meaning persons are rhetorical for no reason in the earth, but because they are not retentive; and so are forced to *break*

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*words purely for their ease.* When a man's tongue is always ready bridled and saddled, he cannot help it if it will run away with him.

This kind of eloquence, like an ill breath, is curable but one way, and that is, by tying a certain ligature, called a halter, round the patient's neck, and girding it, until you have quite stopped up the gutter through which the aforesaid excrements do issue.

But as this remedy might prove somewhat dangerous to many thousands of his majesty's good subjects, I shall be cautious in recommending this public spirited project, though I am fully convinced it would effectually destroy all his enemies within these his dominions. But as I am a friend to the tranquility and noses of mankind, I will make bold to prescribe a *succedaneum*; that is to say, an equivalent for hanging.

As a specific, therefore, against the dreadful effects of this foetid and epidemical distemper, I would advise the sick body, when the fit is coming upon him, (which he will perceive by an ungovernable agitation in his jaws, and an incessant rattling in his throat) to withdraw himself immediately from company, and employ these indefatigable organs in running over a chapter or two in the bible. People, I know, particularly my *patients*, will make a horrid outcry

outcry against the *disastefulness* of this remedy, but that can be no objection against the use of it, since the *bitterest drugs* are often the most successful. Besides, it is well known, that all medicines that *dispose to sleep*, are *harsh* and *unpalatable*. Of this nature are the numerous and powerful opiats, which come daily from the press and the pulpit. A dose or two of scripture, if people would but be persuaded to take it, (*Sed hic labor, hoc opus est !*) would compose those convulsions of the chaps, and that flux of speech which hitherto have been thought incurable. But let none despair ; for though their mouths be dry, and their lips chapped with the perpetual evacuation of eloquence and spittle ; though their heads ach with nodding, and their eyes with winking ; nay, though their throats should be riven with hemming, and their wind-pipes with straining ; nay, even though their very arms should be jaded with explaining their stories, and their canes worn out with enforcing their orations, yet I, the Doctor, will by the blessing of the *bible* on my endeavours, work a *perfect cure*.

This secret, which I found out by great industry and long study, I might, like other great physicians, have kept to myself ; but I prefer knowledge, and the good of mankind, to *living in ignorance, and keeping a coach*.



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For your many excellent speakers that cannot read, I must find out some other cure. Perhaps it may be no ineffectual method to ask them, whether they will give what they say under their hands, and to present them at the same time with pen, ink, and paper : You shall find they will immediately grow shy of *attesting it in so solemn a manner*, and so recover to avoid disgrace. *N. B.* This remedy effectually cures talkative beaus.

As to the ladies, who hate every thing that is *unpleasant or unfashionable*, I know my *Scripture-Specific* will never go down with them without a great deal of art. These genteel well-bred *patients* would think me a strange rude fellow, should I advise them to so *vulgar a thing* as the reading of an *old book* ; and so I find I must grow cunning, that I may not be thought clownish. Being well acquainted with the inquisitive spirit which is in them, I intend to recommend the bible to them as a book that contains many strange adventures, and many secrets which they never heard of before : There they will find gallantry and intrigues, songs, dances, and pretty fellows ; mobbings, rebellions, and the church ; hereditary right, and a *Jewish pretender*, who was a very handsome man, but had his title and complexion both ruined by the gallows ; and there they will find  
courts,

courts, ravishings, and adultery, and every thing that can please and entertain them : Besides, the book is finely bound and gilt. I mention the strongest motive last, because they may remember it most.

I am sensible few of our fine ladies are furnished with this useful book, the same being got intirely into the hands of their servants, and other mean people, who are poor enough to be good Christians. I must therefore acquaint the quality, that the said book, called a *bible*, may be met with at the booksellers ; Mr. *Basket*, encouraged, I suppose, by this project of mine, having not long since ventured upon a new impression ; otherwise, it is thought, bibles might, in a small time, have been out of print.

To convince the whole world that I am altogether disinterested in this useful discovery, I must in justice to myself, declare, that I have never seen the colour of Mr. *Basket's* money ; for though I belong to the society for the *reformation of manners*, I do utterly decline the *usual perquisites* arising from the execution of that office. If Mr. *Basket* indeed should force a bribe upon me, I know the courtesy of my nature will by no means suffer me to affront so worthy a person by a rigid refusal, it being my sted-

fast principle to suffer rather than resist, upon such powerful trials; as many of our good and modest doctors are forced into greatness and bishoprics, in spite of their obstinate and repeated *Nolo*. But, though I shall not fall out with Mr. *Basket* for a small matter, I protest before hand, that if he offers me above a hundred guineas, I shall be strangely surprized.

However, if Mr. *Basket* behaves himself as *he ought to do*, upon this occasion, I intend to make over to him, his heirs, and assigns, the right of printing and publishing my works for the space of three hundred years; at the end of which time, I do will and ordain, that the said right shall become general, and enrich the whole body of booksellers, without distinction; requiring them, however, as a public emolument for so public a benefit, to apply a small portion of their profits towards pulling down the cathedral-church of *St. Paul*, and rebuilding the same in a manner worthy of me and my country, the honour whereof is hereby consulted, as well as the reputation of Sir *Christopher Wren*. I should be willing to retrieve his credit sooner, but as the said fabric is never mentioned among works of architecture, the present architect's name lies safely concealed.

I do also will and appoint, that in the year 2718, that is to say, a thousand years hence, the said company of booksellers shall, at my expence, that is to say, out of the revenues accruing from my works, erect two marble statues to the prince then reigning, the one at *Charing-Cross*, and the other before the theatre at *Oxford*, with the following inscriptions.

*Upon that at Charing-Cross.*

“ **T**O *George the Twentieth*, by the grace of  
 “ God King of *Great-Britain*, and Emperor  
 “ of all *Europe*, arbitrator of the peace of *Asia*,  
 “ and defender of the faith; pious, clement,  
 “ just; the nursing father of liberty and man-  
 “ kind; bold for truth, religion, law, in op-  
 “ position to tyranny, persecution, superstition:  
 “ his zeal tempered with charity, his virtue with  
 “ affability: a prince of unparalleled self-de-  
 “ nial, who loses the appearance of much glory  
 “ by concealing the substance: By preventing  
 “ necessities and oppressions he prevents the re-  
 “ nown of relieving them. Thus is his merit the  
 “ more excellent by being less visible. Their joys  
 “ and fears of his subjects are his own: Their  
 “ peace is the end of all his wars, and his wars  
 “ the means of their peace. He is magnanimous.

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“ and wary. His courage never betrays want  
 “ of circumspection, nor his circumspection want  
 “ of courage ; they are both eminent. His li-  
 “ berality is not confined to worth revealed, but  
 “ generously contributes to raise it ; others have  
 “ rewarded merit, but he makes it. He is hap-  
 “ py in the choice and talents of his ministers,  
 “ and they in the favour and fortune of their  
 “ master. In short, this mighty emperor seems,  
 “ in his whole life and royal virtues, to copy  
 “ out, with great exactness and success, the most  
 “ glorious and popular of all his numerous an-  
 “ cestors, *George the first* ; whose name, notwith-  
 “ standing the dust and forgetfulness with which  
 “ other great princes and their achievements  
 “ are covered, is still fresh and amiable in our  
 “ history and conversation : it was he who laid  
 “ the foundation of the settled prosperity of our  
 “ country, and the continued freedom of *Europe*,  
 “ aided by the counsels and negotiations of *Sun-*  
 “ *derland, Stanhope, and Cadogan*, great statesmen,  
 “ of superior capacities and boundless humani-  
 “ ty. By *their* ministration, in *this* reign, was  
 “ first shaken, and, at last, overthrown, a formi-  
 “ dable race of ancient pagans (long since extinct)  
 “ named *papists*, the blind and bloody slaves of a  
 “ wily wizzard at *Rome*, who, by the magic of  
 “ falshood and ignorance, and by continued and  
 “ un-

“ unrelenting murders, poisoned, stupified, and  
 “ missed christendom for many centuries. A-  
 “ mong the deathless glories of that king’s reign  
 “ was his having for his subject *John Duke of*  
 “ *Marlborough*, surnamed the great, who for victo-  
 “ ries, triumphs, and clemency, first shaded the  
 “ lustre of *Julius* and the great *Macedonian*. Him  
 “ all succeeding heroes, guided by his example,  
 “ and fired by his successes, have strove to emu-  
 “ late, but could never equal. Then also flou-  
 “ rished the immortal *Mr. Addison*, whose fame  
 “ is in every mouth, and his works in every  
 “ hand. In his writings are still seen, in all their  
 “ freshness and glory, the divine achievements  
 “ of *William the third*, and the mighty *Marlbo-*  
 “ *rough*. The want of such a genius and such a  
 “ pen, is the grief and misfortune of the present  
 “ times, and has been the complaint of every  
 “ age between him and us. To compleat the  
 “ praises of that reign, *Parker* presided in the  
 “ senate, and out of it, controlled the law; *King*  
 “ the bench, and *Hoadly* the mitre.

“ In this place, some ages since, stood a brazen  
 “ equestrian statue of an old *British* king,\* whose  
 “ name is omitted, because his reign was unfor-  
 “ tunate and his end unhappy. His bigotry to-  
 “ the ecclesiastics was his foible, and at length  
 “ his destruction. Whilst, deluded with their  
 “ false incense, and mistaking self-interest in  
 “ them

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“ them for loyalty to him, he made them more  
 “ than subjects, he made himself less than a so-  
 “ vereign. He broke the constitution, because it  
 “ would not bend, and banished the laws because  
 “ they would not flatter. He sacrificed the crown  
 “ to exalt the mitre, and oppressed his subjects to  
 “ support the crown. Monarchy and the church  
 “ became at last hateful, by making themselves  
 “ dreadful, and, by grasping at too much, lost all.  
 “ The nation, after twelve years patience un-  
 “ der the continued assaults of rapine and ty-  
 “ ranny, had a fortuitous but favourable oppor-  
 “ tunity put into their hands, to relieve them-  
 “ selves. They soon found themselves strong,  
 “ and therefore grew unmanageable, and con-  
 “ founding slavery with obedience, shook off  
 “ both. The rest is too tragical.

“ The whole history of this ill-advised prince,  
 “ is a panegyric upon his present majesty, who  
 “ fortifies his throne, and blesses his people, by  
 “ following closely the wisdom and example of  
 “ his great ancestor above mentioned, the first  
 “ of his name.

*Upon the statue at Oxford.*

“ **T**O George the twentieth, by the grace of  
 “ God, &c. A prince, whose strongest right  
 “ to govern mankind proceeds from his being  
 “ the

“ the best and wisest of mankind. Nothing can  
“ equal the peoples affection to their monarch,  
“ but the monarch’s benevolence to his people.  
“ A noble emulation ! their happiness is his  
“ study ; his safety is their care. He rules by  
“ deserving to rule : this is his opinion, this his  
“ practice. He owns no right from heaven, but  
“ to do good, nor from men, but to protect them.  
“ He detests being a tyrant, *because his ancestors*  
“ *were kings*. He thinks it diabolical reasoning,  
“ that, because he ought to defend, he may there-  
“ fore destroy. That kings are the ordinances  
“ of God, merely for being the scourges of God,  
“ he thinks to be a proposition as dreadful as  
“ absurd, which may, with equal justice, entitle  
“ robbers and murderers to impunity and non-  
“ resistance. The people are not jealous of the  
“ prince’s power, nor the prince of the people’s  
“ liberty. He glories in being limited by the  
“ law of the land, but more in being unlimited  
“ by the love of his subjects. His wisdom and  
“ power are employed for them ; their hearts and  
“ their purses are open to him ; both happy in  
“ mutual and unrestrained confidence. He loves  
“ all his subjects, and is by *all* his subjects be-  
“ loved ; this renowned nursery of learning set-  
“ ting an illustrious copy of religion and loy-  
“ alty to the remotest nations of his empire.

“ And



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“ And yet from this seat of knowledge *former-*  
 “ *ly* issued many black mists of prejudice and  
 “ ignorance, and even the peaceful muses were  
 “ drawn into sedition and outrages. The black-  
 “ est perjuries and most destructive principles  
 “ were openly encouraged and defended ; and  
 “ religion was brought into real danger, to keep  
 “ the church out of it. Every action and every  
 “ name that did honour to the nation and to  
 “ mankind, was blackened and depressed, whilst  
 “ the vilest villanies against truth and liberty  
 “ were countenanced and extolled. Honest men  
 “ were brow-beaten, weak men deluded, and  
 “ profligates supported and protected ; religious  
 “ houses were pulled down by the drunken rab-  
 “ ble, and the church vindicated by blaspheming  
 “ mobs. Hereditary right was supported by per-  
 “ jury, and non-resistance by rebellion. Men of  
 “ virtue and sobriety were termed fanatics, and  
 “ the defenders of peace, liberty, and law, re-  
 “ publicans : But *George the first*, who had all  
 “ those evils in a particular manner to struggle  
 “ with, as being levelled at *his person and title*,  
 “ at last overcame them all. He reformed the  
 “ priesthood and purified the university, and,  
 “ in spite of pride, interest, and a degeneracy  
 “ almost total, reconciled these haughty bodies of  
 “ men to *evangelical religion* and *legal obedience*.  
 “ He was the founder of our present greatness ;  
 “ for

“ for arriving at which, he chose and practised the  
“ most natural, most amiable arts. He made the  
“ good of mankind the measure of his power ;  
“ and by making his subjects wise and virtuous,  
“ taught them to be great. He made his people  
“ powerful, and they him irresistible. Dying, he  
“ left behind him such a pattern of government,  
“ which has never failed to render all succeeding  
“ kings, who have followed it, prosperous and  
“ popular. This they have all attempted, but  
“ his present majesty with the most success.

“ Of the reign of *George the first* no more  
“ needs be said ; it shines, at this distance, in the  
“ histories and poems of that time ; a time  
“ fruitful in men of learning and genius, fa-  
“ voured and patronized, *more particularly*, by the  
“ *then Duke of Newcastle*,\* who, from his early in-  
“ fancy to the end of a *most distinguished and ha-*  
“ *neurable life*, gave *infinite proofs* of a large  
“ soul, and a disinterested love to mankind,  
“ liberty, and the more elegant arts. But the  
“ character of that *great and popular lord* is well  
“ known, and his memory honoured in the same  
“ degree as was his life.

\* The present Duke, 1762, of whom all we shall say is,  
that our author's prophecy hath failed in this instance,

My LORD,

After an absence of several pages, I again return to your lordship, who must, to excuse me, consider, I have been attending a much greater man: but having now, I hope, sufficiently instructed posterity about erecting and *dedicating* the above-named statues, and having made ample provisions for the expence of the same, I am once more at your service.

I should now proceed to display and extol, as becomes me, your lordship's great piety and gallantry, the gravity of your carriage, and the liveliness of your behaviour, the grandeur of your deportment, and the humility of your conversation; and, *most particularly*, I should celebrate your great generosity to myself, and your great frugality to all the world: and your lordship may depend upon it, I will very soon gratify my own ambition, by equipping you with all these great gifts, and many more.

At present a thing has happened, which interrupts me in the discharge of this my necessary duty. A thing, which the shyness of my nature will have me to conceal from all the world, but so good and loving a friend as your lordship. *My lord*, it is now twelve-o' clock, and I want a dinner; and, alas! I doubt my bookseller will not trust me with a shilling, without  
more

mortgaging these my papers into his hands for the sum aforesaid. Thus must half your lordship, that is, half your character, be pawned, that I may dine. Be assured of hearing from me soon, for I have your *measure*, and, as becomes your *faithful taylor*, will finish your *suit* with all speed. I am, with wonderful devotion, and great haste (it is now a quarter after twelve)

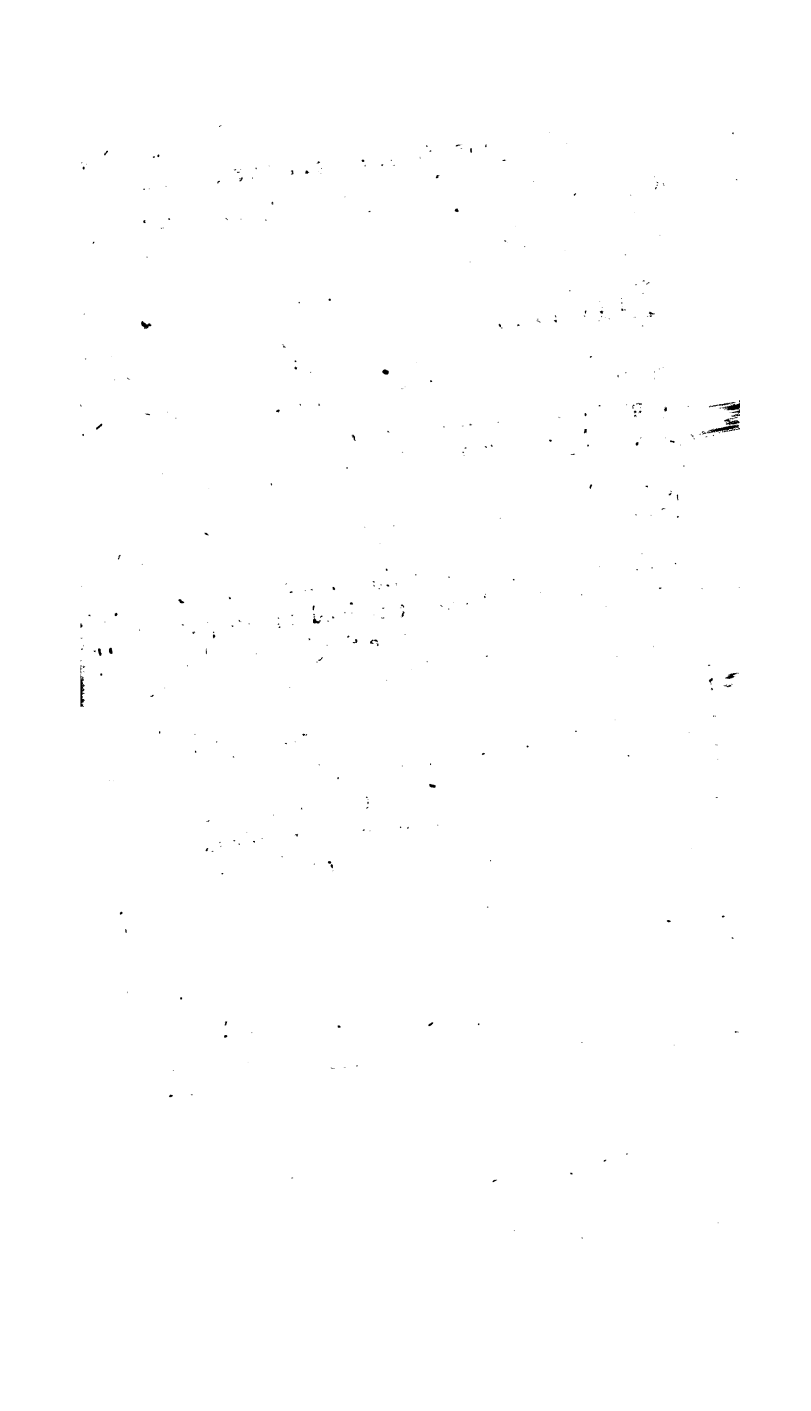
*My very good lord,*

*Your lordship's most dutiful  
and most obedient humble servant.*

P. S. To avoid the envy that eminent writers must ever expect, I have determined not to put my name to my work, until the thirtieth edition of this treatise, which perhaps may not be this month yet; by which time it is presumed, that all those who detract from its excellencies will be hissed into silence and shame by the whole world.

I designed to have subjoined at the end a table of the *principal matters*, as other great authors have done, but, going about it, I quickly found I must transcribe the whole book into an index, and so gave it over.

A Learned



A Learned  
DISSERTATION  
UPON  
OLD WOMEN,  
MALE and FEMALE,  
SPIRITUAL and TEMPORAL,  
In all Ages.

Whether in *Church, State, or Exchange-Alley.*

*Very seasonable to be read at all Times, but  
especially at all particular Times.*

To which is added,

An ESSAY upon the present UNION  
of the WHIG-CHIEFS.

First printed in the YEAR 1720.

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1917

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IT is recorded in the memories of divers story-tellers in and about this metropolis, that the sage and eloquent Dr. *Byfield*, who goeth about, pouring forth his divine breathings in coffee-houses, and presenting his books *gratis* to all who will pay him for them : I say it is credibly reported, that the said doctor having a suit in chancery with a certain chymist, and a venerable serjeant being of counsel for his adversary ; he, the said doctor, humbly moved my lord chancellor that Mrs. *Byfield*, the wife of him the said doctor, might be allowed to answer and refute the harangue of him the said serjeant ; and mark the reason ! *for* (said the doctor) *she, my lord, is an old woman too !*

Whether this his request was granted, or only entered upon record, the tradition sayeth not. If the challenge was not accepted, surely it is great pity ; seeing that from a match so natural, and a contention so equal, much elegant entertainment would have resulted to the grave and learned brothers (or, shall I rather say, *sisters*) of the long robe, who, during the strife, must have stood strangely and equally  
poized



poized in their affections and wishes, as being equally allied to either combatant. I have, indeed, heard it urged, by the partizans of the old woman in petticoats, that the other in the coif, jealous of his reputation, and doubtful how the issue might determine the prize of eloquence, fled the pit, and left ingloriously, his antagonist whetting her guns, and mumbling revenge. But the learned and acute sir ———, knight, serjeant at law, does, *with great submission, conceive*, that this last *clause* of the tradition wants *proof*.

I must own it would have been exceeding unnatural and unscriptural for Mrs. Byfield and the serjeant to have entered the lists against each other, upon this occasion; or, indeed, upon any other whatsoever: forasmuch as it is written in the hundred thirtieth and third psalm, verse the first; *behold how good and how pleasant it is for BRETHREN to dwell together in unity*: And, therefore, it is my own private opinion of this matter, that the whole bench and bar, taking it into their serious consideration, as what might affect them all, offered their mediation, and stopped the progress of their pernicious difference. And in this I have the concurring opinions of ——— and ——— and ——— and ——— and ——— and

and ——— with several others, all *able lawyers*, and parties concerned.

There is a waggish acquaintance of mine, who carries the analogy between old women and grave baristers, further than, in my judgment, need requires he should. ‘Do not  
‘ you observe, says he, that they have the same  
‘ enmity to silence, and possess the same eter-  
‘ nal wetness of beard? pray distinguish, if  
‘ you can, between pleading and scolding;  
‘ and, whatever you do, mark that hobbling  
‘ amble in their gate; that involuntary nod  
‘ of the head; that contracted plodding fore-  
‘ head; that wise unmeaning face, and these  
‘ desolate gums! and then, confess the invinci-  
‘ ble likeness ——— I would furthermore put  
‘ you in mind of their equal taste in dress,  
‘ and their equal resemblance therein ———  
‘ black gowns and red petticoats! two co-  
‘ lours, in which it is hard to say, whether my  
‘ lord J—e mimics *granny*, or *granny* my  
‘ lord J—e! *granny* moreover wears forward  
‘ night-cloaths, and ties her pinners before,  
‘ to hide a bald-pate; and Mr. Serjeant, and  
‘ his betters, bury their faces in mighty peri-  
‘ wigs, which environ either chap and lie,  
‘ like comely mares tails, on either breast ———  
‘ for

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‘ for why, they are only hairy machines to  
‘ conceal long ears !’

At the assizes in *Caermarthen-Shire*, some years ago, a *Welshman*, who had never seen so fine a shew before, asked a neighbour of his, who was knowing in these matters, ‘ what ‘gentleman was that upon the pench-in hur ‘ cown, and hur pelt, and hur plack cap ?’ *Why, marry, quoth Morgan, hur is an old we-man, that takes hur nap upon hur cushion, and then hur tells the shewry hur tream.*

It is plain from *St. Paul*, that old wives fables were current and prevailing in his time, — and he warns *St. Timothy* (the most reverend, the lord archbishop of *Ephesus*) against them ; desiring *his grace*, to *exercise himself rather unto godliness*. But notwithstanding that the apostle’s works are still read, though they do not say a word of *South-Sea* stock ; yet old wives are in as good esteem as ever, and their tales bear as good a price. There is particularly a numerous tribe of ancient gentlewomen, called *Schoolmen* and *fathers*, who are reputed a company of venerable gossips, whose evidence may be taken in trials about *Norwich* crapes, wide-kneed breeches, the power of the constables, the primitive institution of parish-clerks, the decimation of eggs by the original patent, whoring, scolding,  
and

and courtesying toward the rising sun ; and the like momentous points between men and monks.

But it is very true, that these old bodies do often contradict one another in their evidence; either because they know not the truth, or will not speak it ; both which are frequently the case —. But here a ready expedient is offered ; for the *pious* attornies, who produce them, modestly reject every part of the evidence which makes against them, as *forged* or *erroneous*, and are pleased only to accept so much of the same, as makes for them, as undoubtedly *genuine* and *valid*. And if no part of it will serve their turn ; yet we, the defendants, are bound to believe that it does ; and that is as well. For the *pious* attornies above-written, claim, from time immemorial, a right to be prosecutors, and judges, and witnesses ; at least, witnesses for their witnessess, in every law-suit which they undertake. And, if we do not acquiesce in all this, a lawyer of this sort has told us, what sentence we are to expect ; even this, *God d—mn you and yours to all eternity*. (Tale of a Tub in 12mo. p: 104.)

The admirers and followers of these old dusty gossips are themselves of the same character and predicament ; for, as the saying is, *old women of*

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*all religions are the same.* We are not therefore to wonder, if we find, in the whole breed, an equal appetite for flogging, hoarding, backbiting and scolding. From gammar *Aaron* down to gammar *Satanafius*, and from gammar *Satanafius* down to gammar *Becket*, and from gammar *Becket* down to gammar *Laud*, and from gammar *Laud* (keeping still in the same *see*) down to gammar ——— you find the self-same spirit, and the self-same arts. The multitude have been still bubbled, and taught or scared into the worship of golden calves, or black calves, or some other sorts of calves: and the same lying, falshood, and cruelty, have gone on in an *uninterrupted line of succession*, and uninterrupted submission.

It is marvellous and inconceivable, the stupidity and duncibleness of mankind. ‘O world! when wilt thou come out of thine  
 ‘ infancy, and assume a beard; and a mind  
 ‘ worthy of that beard! learn to despise *long*  
 ‘ coats; reject thy leaders and thy leading-  
 ‘ strings, stand upon thy own legs; be of  
 ‘ age; look round thee, and distinguish, at last,  
 ‘ truth and freedom from restraint and dis-  
 ‘ guises. But in case, my dearest child, that  
 ‘ thou art already superannuated; as, consider-  
 ‘ ing the greyness of thy head, and the green-  
 ‘ ness of thy behaviour, I fear me thou art;  
 ‘ then

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‘ then, O reverend granny, lost is my labour, and vain are my instructions! I will, however, bear my testimony in thy behalf, and shew thee, with the help of thy spectacles, how thou art ever ridden by old women, thyself an old woman!’

Queen *Semiramis* was the greatest King that swayed the scepter of *Assyria*, and exceeded by far all that succeeded her. She was indeed a most valiant man, but very lewd, which is no fault in princes; what is very common being very pardonable. To her succeeded her son, King *Sardanapalus* the Queen, who from his infancy was an *old woman*, and very naturally spent all his time, and his spinning, amongst young ones. But, for all the harmlessness of this he queen, he met an untimely fate, and violent hands were laid upon the *Lord's anointed*, to the great grief of all the *true churchmen*, that is, the *genuine* worshippers of *Bell and the dragon*, of those days.

Those who came after him were for the most part like him; and from *Semiramis* to the end of the *Babylonian* monarchy, which lasted for several ages, all the Kings proved to be of the female gender, except herself. When the monarchy was translated to the *Medes* and *Persians*, there was but one Emperor, and that was

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*Cyrus*, who happened to be a man : all the rest were old women ; creatures that lived in their dining rooms, admired their fine furniture, wore rich brocades, played with their monkeys, beat and bit and scratched their servants, and drank cawdle, the tea of the time ; and, in fine, said and did, just as do and say our aged countesses in the other end of the town.

At length the magicians, or priests of the *established church of Babylon*, having great interest at court, and encouragement from the prince, knocked him on the head in return for his love ; and, by the murder of his whole race, and further cruelty and craft, seated themselves in his throne, and yet kept the murder and usurpation a secret from all the world, for some time. But the reigning conjurer being, like the rest of the tribe, given to wenching, a mistress of his was directed by her brother, who suspected sacred roguery, to search his majesty's head for ears ; and, upon inquiry, she found he had none. For, it had happened, some time before, that the whole order had their lugs lopped off, for some pious pranks by them played.

Upon this discovery, the grandees invaded the royal palace, *alias*, the royal brothel, and put

put all these *old women*, that is to say, the *clergy*, that is to say, the *usurpers*, to the sword. So here ended the reign (though not the roguery) of these *consecrated monarchs*, or *spiritual sovereigns*, or *pagan popes*, or *cropped prelates*, or *representatives* of —'s person, or, &c.

Proceed we next to the election of a new *old woman*. For the lineal entail was broke in the murder of *Adam's* heir at law, by the *Babylonian* parsons; though some of their brethren since have pretended to patch it together again, impossibilities being of no weight in the schemes of *magicians*.

In this election, one *Darius* carried the diadem by the merit of his stonehorse; which stone-horse, had it not been for the folly or partiality of the nobility, ought to have mounted that throne; and then might have been alledged, what now cannot be alledged, namely, that once in a century a creature of some *manhood* filled it.

It is the opinion of that able critic and cabalist, *Rabbi Nick Nack Ben Dry Pate*, that the historians are all liars and dunces in the account they pretend to give of this matter. For, says he, *I will lay an even wager of fifty to one, that when the crown of Persia was, by a vote of the judicious house of L——ds there, hung*  
D 3 upon



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upon a nag's nostrils, whose neighing was to create a master of mankind, and declare the Lord's anointed; Darius did not act by the craft of his groom (which is the opinion of Ctesias, Berofus, Plutarch, &c.) but by the counsel of his CHAPLAIN, who advised him, as soon as ever he came to the randying ground, to bray with all his might; and if you take this method, added the sage Doctor, and bray with becoming vehemence, by G—— I will venture my soul upon it, you are monarch of the East. For, continued his Reverence, in such a hurry and discord of the passions, as will necessarily fill every breast upon so great an occasion, who will distinguish Chestnut's voice from your lordship's voice, or a F—— from a pair of bag-pipes? Rabbi Nick-nack adds, that Earl Darius, finding this expedient the easiest and most natural to him of all the expedients in the world, whenever he found himself upon the place of trial, clapped his finger to one nostril, and brayed with the other, with so bewitching and so royal an accent, that the whole house of NOBLES, then present, whipped off their hats, and bowing with their faces to the earth, as if the chaplain himself, or an altar had stood in their way, cried out with one accord, O King Darius, live for ever. He was then taken and crowned, being first  
anointed,

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*anointed*, and having taken an oath to defend the rights of the clergy and convocation ; the archbishop performing the ceremony, the reverend Dr. *Tygris* reading prayers, and the chaplain aforesaid preaching the sermon, which was ordered to be printed by *his majesty's special command* ; and he had the first good living that fell.

So easily are kingdoms earned, and by such certain signs and criterions does heaven point out the persons of princes ; who being of divine institution, the divine will must, in the case before us, be exceeding clearly conveyed through the snout of a horse, or of an ass ; a very usual vehicle or instruction, in all ages and climates !

But as every old woman that totters under a crown, rules, or scolds, or blasphemes, or murders, or burns, by divine appointment ; so the old women, *alias* Emperors of *Persia*, continued to plague mankind, and misgovern, as heaven's lieutenants, till *Alexander* the Great, who, in the beginning of his reign, was indeed a king of the masculine gender, came with all the violence of war, as heaven's lieutenant also, to dethrone and put an end to them : for he that was strongest always happened to have the divine

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authority on his side, contrary, and yet agreeable, to the orthodox system.

*Victrix causa Diis placuit.*

*Alexander* himself soon degenerated, and, before he arrived to the flower of his age, grew an old woman, like the rest; became wonderfully addicted to scolding, and doated on nothing but fine gowns, and citron water.

His immediate successors resembled him; they were at first men, and at last drivelers; and, for those kings who succeeded *them*, they were old wives from their cradles.

There never was, in all the East, a braver race of men than the *Amazons*, whose Queens were also the bravest of Kings. *Tamerlane* too happened to be a prince of a male genius; but, excepting as before excepted, there has scarce ever been known such a character as a king in all the great continent of *Asia*, though abounding in monarchs. Their frequent exercising of craft and cruelty does in no degree determine them men; the same being also exercised, though in a smaller measure, by crocodiles, wolves, kites, adders, and the like emblems and patterns of such imperial old women as play the devil by divine right.

But

But these royal vermin, who sucked the blood of their subjects, and were the relentless foes of mankind, became all, in their turn, the booty and vassals of the *Romans*, who knocked them on the head, or imprisoned them, or suffered them to enjoy a precarious and slavish sovereignty, just as they had behaved themselves.

The *Romans* were a nation of men, and friends to their species, lovers of liberty, and despisers of life, when these two blessings were incompatible. They propagated politeness and laws; and hunted down tyrants and barbarity, wherever they came. They taught mankind to distinguish between manly obedience, proceeding from rational consent, which is the allegiance of *subjects*; and involuntary submission, extorted by fears and force, which is the lot and condition of slaves.

Their religion was of a piece with their politics, and part of them. The civil magistrate was either the priest himself, or the priest was *prompted* by him; and the only piece of priestcraft which the *old republican clergy* practised, was to lye laudably, by the direction of the magistrate, for the good of the commonwealth. The hands of the government were not tied up from encouraging public spi-

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rit, by the paultry fear of alarming the ecclesiastics. Every principle and every action, which promoted their present liberty and prosperity was lawful, virtuous, and religious, in the eyes of that noble people; who had no idea of the encroachment of liberty upon religion, or of the church's clashing with the state, or of the *creature's* contending for superiority with its *creator*. These were monsters yet unborn, and absurdities as yet uninvented, which lived not till liberty was dead, and till *old women* succeeded *heroes*.

The *Romans* preserved their liberty so long as they preserved their virtue. At last ambition and bribery seized the senate-house, and were followed by every evil art, and every wicked purpose: the corruption began at the great, who spread it among the people, and debauched them, in order to enslave them. *Shews*, *farces*, and *masquerades*, made them idle, and depending upon those who gratified them with these fine sights and diversions. At long-run, their highest ambition was to live and see *shews*. In the end, being fully purged of all sense of virtue and freedom, the whole *Roman* people, who had conquered the world, and had polished it, they, who had deposed tyrants,

tyrants, and set mankind free, became themselves an easy prey to a traitor of their own raising.

Men have been, and are, generally taught from their early youth to admire and reverence the first *Cæsar* : at which I am astonished ; for he was one of the most wicked and bloody men that ever the earth bore. He stuck at no villainy, no vileness, no destruction, to gain his ends, and ruin his country. *Omnium feminarum maritus, & omnium virorum uxor*, is the least worst character that can be given of him. If he was sometimes guilty of mercy, it was from no tenderness of heart, or for any righteous purpose ; but purely to catch gudgeons, and make his tyranny popular. In short, *Julius Cæsar*, like most other conquerors, is intitled, in an humbler degree, to that sort of glory, which is due to *Belshazzar*, for daring the almighty, and defacing the creation.

Those, who succeeded him in the usurpation of *Rome*, were for the most part such an execrable race of vermin, that there is scarce any other character to be given of them, than that *Emperer* and *old woman* were terms synonymous ever afterwards.

The empress *Claudius* deserves particular notice. She left the empire to the administration of whatever person happened to be most in her good graces, for the time being: and so sometimes her wife was queen, and sometimes her footman; while the good woman *Claudius* herself turned author, and scribbled, and gormandized, and got drunk, every day of her life. *Nec temere unquam triclinio absecessit nisi distantius et madens*, says *Suetonius*. Just like the learned and valiant monarch of another country, I mean Queen *James* the first of *Magnagascar*; who, bating her aversion to tobacco, was as true an old woman as ever droveled, or tippled goneya. Queen *James* was also a royal benefactor to *Grub-street*, and president of the learned society there. She writ books, and made speeches, and was greatly subject to the looseness; which last I take to be the true reason why the learned Queen *James's* performances smell but little of the conjurer; seeing that it is observed by Mr. *Locke*, in his treatise of education, that they, who are very loose, have seldom strong thoughts.

Behold here, O curious reader, a full and true character of our present writers upon most subjects! even because they write with empty bellies, or with pills in their bellies; and therefore our *S*hers and poets do confess

less in their productions, the slipperiness of their guts. Lamentable case ! that, amongst all the legions of the learned, there is hardly to be found one shrewd *costive* fellow, except myself, and my admirers !

This malady of the guts is also productive of pernicious effects amongst statesmen and crowned heads. Her late majesty took physic that very day upon which she signed the treaty at *Utrecht* ; and it was observed that, all the while it was making, her ministry went frequently to the little house. And indeed it is well known, that, during the last three years of her reign, Dr. *Arbuthnot* was constantly about her, either by himself, or proxy ; that is to say, either the physician, or the glister-pipe, was in daily practice. The late Duke of *Ormond* was taken with a strange griping of the guts, when he was in *Flanders*, which lasted all the time he stayed there, and was the untoward reason why he deserted the allies. But, notwithstanding this, it is thought his late Grace would never have run away from *England*, had not a right reverend son of the mitre, for his own righteous ends, persuaded him that he looked pale, and begged him in all love to take a purge ; he followed the *ghostly advice* ; and behold its operation !  
the



the very next day he started from his clofe-stool, mounted his horse, and galloped away, as fast as if *Jack Ketch* had been at his heels, and never halted till he came to the *pretender*, who is himself a poor *laxative* knight as ever wore a garter, and has a court most miserably afflicted with the *bloody-flux*.

There is a considerable king in *Europe*, who has been troubled with agues, loosenesses, and evil counsellors for two or three years: at last he was prevailed upon to take *astringents*, and turn off the *Cardinal*; and now all is like to go well with him again.

As to ourselves; God be praised, we are blessed with a set of able, *costive* statesmen, who have not gone to stool these three years, except as hereafter is excepted; that is to say, when they preferred — and — and — and — and —, *cum multis aliis*; as also when they entered into a — with — and — &c. as likewise when they declared that they had no intention to repeal —; as also when they neglected to — and — and — and — and — and — and — and —; as likewise when they contrived how to silence —; as also when they quarrelled with — and — and —; as  
like.

likewise when they formed a scheme to gain such a vast ———; as also when they agreed to give ——— and ———; as likewise when they were entering into a coalition and concert with ——— and ——— and ———: As also when they encouraged ——— and ——— and ——— and ———.

Were I to go over all the *items* and *exceptions*, I should never have done; and so I turn my foot into my first path, and proceed with my *dissertation* upon *old women*.

To Queen *James* succeeded another queen; I mean he who was nick-named the *confessor*, like king, like counsellors! this sucking monarch got him a wife, and yet went still in leading-strings: Mother *William Laud*, and madam the *Duke of Buckingham*, who had been his father's mistress, were his governors, *unlimited* and *uncontroulable*.

The kingdom grew ashamed and weary of being governed and oppressed by such a *grizzel*, and so pulled her out of her *elbow-chair*, and never suffered her to set her breech in it afterwards; though she tried all means whatsoever, sometimes scolding, sometimes beseeching, sometimes tricking, and sometimes hiring bullies to fight for her.

AF-

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After a long civil contention for liberty and dominion, which I pass over in silence, because it was between *men* and *men*, who do not belong to this my subject; come we, in the next place, to the riotous reign of Queen *Sardanapalus* the Ild, who neglected God and men to drink *French* wine, and play with *French* harlots and lap dogs. There began then to be a great decay of sobriety, virtue, and manhood; and nothing triumphed but the excise, fornication, and the church.

After a long reign of luxury and feminine weaknesses, Queen *Sardanapalus* departed this life, by the pious assistance of the priests and her brother the Princess *James*; who mounted the throne, and shewed herself as errant an *old wife* as ever shook a scepter.

She, ever she had well broken the coronation oath, which she had not yet taken, taking into her serious consideration the obvious infirmities of her sex and her understanding, put herself, the first thing she did, under the guardianship and absolute direction of an old harlot at *Rome*, famous for her stinking breath, and her treble night-cap. Then her majesty went on, like a creature superannuated, as she was, to play strange pranks,  
some

some ludicrous, and some mischievous. She worshipped wafers, pretended to devour her mediator, and claimed a right to eat up her people. No body would take her bond for a groat; and she herself owned that her oath was not worth a rush. As she was an old woman herself, so she acted by old women; and particularly, she got a jury of old wives, in long coats and coifs, to pronounce a verdict, that *she might lawfully and innocently do what mischief and wickedness she would*: and so said the sacred sisters of the surplice; alledging that every old gentlewoman, wearing a crown, had a divine charter from God to resemble *satan* as much as she pleased.

Queen *James*, encouraged by all these fine speeches, let loose his inclinations, and devilized with all his might. But, as he was driving furiously over the life and limb of every subject that stood in his way, without any resistance, which was prohibited by the *convocation*, he unadvisedly galloped over a *nest* of the *wayward sisters* aforesaid, and took away the articles of their *club*. This hurt and provoked them damnably. For, though they are the most patient creatures upon earth, when evil befalls others; and will upon that occasion urge the sanctity of submission, with wonderful zeal; yet

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yet such is their mortal antipathy to sufferings in their own persons, that, upon any trial of that kind, they seem to be the only people upon the globe, to whom God has given least of the grace of resignation,

Queen *James* now found that this was their true spirit. For, though they had themselves pointed out to him the very high road to oppression, yet no sooner had he given them a royal gripe, but they set up their apostolic throats, and yelled so loud, that they were heard all over the kingdom, and roused the multitude, from all quarters to their assistance; that very multitude, whom they had, a few days before, been infatuating into the disposition and acquiescence of slaves, they had now the art and the impudence to animate into rebels, in their own sense of the word.

The manly part of the nation, and lovers of liberty, took advantage of the phrenzy of the prince, and the animosity of the *wayward sisters*, to frighten Queen *James* into a nunnery, and to set a *king* upon the throne; the only one they had seen there, since the days of King *Bess*, of manly memory.

The *wayward sisters*, finding that they had now in reality got a king *over* them, and not a queen *under* them; which last had been their lot and felicity for near a hundred years;

years; and perceiving withal that the king would not kneel to them, or put his power and scepter into their hands; they grew devilish outrageous and turbulent. The first thing they did, in their anger, - was to vote themselves forsworn; for, slap-dash, they stripped the king, at one pull, of his *divine right*, and made a present of it to the excluded Queen *James*, from whom they had also rent it in their wrath, a month or two before.

But, in spite of their craft, and disloyalty, the king kept his crown; and, in spite of his mercy and merit, they preserved their aversion and malignity.

A *queen* came next; and, with her, prosperity and a *kingly government*, for several years; which once more disappointed and provoked the *wayward sisters*, who yelped as bitterly as ever; but yelped unheard, till her majesty grew old and into a resemblance of her ancestors; and then all things went topsyturvey, and the *wayward sisters* flourished and rejoiced. But just as they were in *full cry*, and daily expectation of their *hereditary old woman* from *abroad*, the other at home dropped, before they could bring it to pass; and the kingdom got a *king* a second time, and still keeps him, not-with-

withstanding all the struggles, and sedition, and praying, and counter-praying, and preaching, and drinking, and lying, and swearing, and forswearing of the *wayward sisters*, in order to send him home again.

It is indeed agreeable to the ambition and self-love of the *wayward sisters* to hate *kings*; for a monarch that resolves to be a *man*, will never put himself under the dominion of *old women*, nor gratify their spleen: whereas when a queen reigns, the *wayward sisters* are all *kings*. Behold the reason of their present rage! the present monarch does not touch their roast, nor their boiled; their sack, nor their sherry; their copyholds, nor their *peterpence*. On the contrary, he gives them all good usage and encouragement; he prefers the worthy, and is not severe to the worthless. But all this pleases not the *wayward sisters*. They cannot impose upon their prince, nor piss upon the laws, nor oppress the people, nor prey upon scrupulous consciences, nor be forsworn with success. These are their great grievances; or, if they have greater, I wish they would produce them. If his majesty would but please to condescend to their modest demands, and be led, like their pupil, or driven like their property;  
he

he might make beggars or bacon of his subjects, and welcome : nay, divine authority would be believed, and scripture misquoted, to support him in it. But, as he behaves himself at present, he will never be the favourite of the *wayward sisters*.

I have thus, with great labour of body and brain, searched into the records of time, and given my attentive reader an edifying abstract of universal history, of which I have shewn *old women* to have been the principal *heroes*. If we look now into the disputes and transactions between nation and nation, we shall assuredly find that they ever prevailed, or miscarried, according as they employed *men* or *old women* in the management of their affairs civil and military.

And, not to go too far backward in this disquisition, let us only remember with what a different spirit and success the affairs of *France* were conducted by that court forty years ago, from what the affairs of another court were, which shall be nameless : and the reason lay here ; the *French* ministers wore beards, and the *British* ministers wore petticoats ; choice guardians of the nation ! who, whilst they were supported in their avarice and merry-makings, from *St. Germain's*, cared not what became  
of



of their country, or of *Europe*, or of christianity.

In the matters of peace and war, the case is just the same. In the last war, for example, against *France*, a *male general* was employed, and under him a race of *men*; and they hewed down all opposition: neither stone-walls, nor intrenchments, nor numbers, nor the danger of the church, could stand before them; nor could rivers or *louis-d'ores* retard their bravery. They stormed towns, they routed armies, they eat fire, and did every thing with a *masculine* air: alas! what were a hundred thousand *French* girls, whether nuns or soldiers, in their hands? and, for half a score *mareschals* of *France*, they considered them as only so many dancing *de* women on horseback, with feathers in their caps, and distaffs in their hands, who never missed being kicked head over heels, and sent to *Paris* to get their wigs new powdered; which yet did not mend the matter.

It is thought, if the war had continued, that *Madam de Maintenon* would have headed the army in *Flanders*, and recruited it with several antiquated belles, and the nymphs of *St. Cyr*: this filled all the *heroes* at *Versailles* with burning envy, and they all brigued against her going: but it is thought that all their politics would have failed

failed them, had they not luckily represented to the *grand monarch*, who was every day growing *less*, the *invincible Louis*, who was every day *beaten*, the *immortal man*, who was dangerously *ill* of a fistula ; that, if he made his old nurse a general, he would have no body to attend his *issue behind*. This made great impression upon him ; and so *Goody Villars* was appointed commander in chief, instead of *Goody Scarron*. As soon as she came into the field, she gave out scolding speeches how she would do several womanly exploits. But she was well paid for her prating, and forced to run to save her life.

This was the unequal strife, during the course of the war, between swords and distaffs. But, when things began to look towards an accommodation, the tables were quite turned. *France*, which hitherto had sent old wives for warriors, appointed Now *vigorous men* for her negotiators : and another kingdom, which, to its deathless glory, had employed *HEROES* to fight, did, to its endless infamy, employ old women to treat ; wretched, toothless, impotent old women, who, had their luck been of a size with their brains, must have borne the parish badge ! the lively and ingenious *John of Lapland*, and the able and accomplished *Thomas Lord Spellwell*,  
are

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are a brace of hopeful statesmen ! and yet, with all their zeal and humble compliances, they had not the common capacity to sell the honour of their country, even after others had brought it to market for them, without the assistance of prompters.

To come now, towards the end, to speak of my own country, of which I have not hitherto said one word ; I am sorry to say, that the increase of *old women* grows marvellously great amongst us. It is moreover grievous to consider, by what heavy and contemptible instruments this shameful change is wrought. lo ! our evil cometh from the dull heart of the city, and we are enchanted by a *stupid kennel of stock-jobbers*, who cheat us out of our money and our *sex*, and then stand godfathers to us, and, by way of tender derision, christen us BUBBLES !

Let us, my brethren and countrymen, either properly and patiently put on *petticoats* ; or resume our *manhood*, and shake off this shameful delusion, this filthy yoke, put upon our necks by dull rogues from JONATHAN'S ; plodding dunces ! who carry their souls, if they have any, in their pockets ; and who, if you take them out of the *alley*, have not the understand-

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ing of carmen, nor the agreeableness of ba-boons.

I shall conclude this light paper with some thoughts of a grave nature, and dwell, for two or three pages, upon a subject which gives me infinite delight ; I mean, the present concord between *St. James's* and *Leicester-fields*.



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A N  
E S S A Y

Upon the late UNION of the

W H I G - C H I E F S.

**T**HE reconciliation of our two courts is of such happy consequence to the nation, and the royal family, as must be highly pleasing to all men, who love either. Differences of this kind are nothing rare; but they generally have public ill consequences, and weaken the hands, and embarrass the wheels of government. I thank God, the late one has produced more coldness than violence, and more talk than terror. It is to be presumed, that nothing was done on either side during the breach, which may occasion painful pangs, or angry reflexions, now it is cured. I doubt not but the union is as sincere, as I wish it lasting.

Though

Though I always looked upon the late misunderstanding as a great evil; yet, now it is past, I do not know whether some good may not come of it. It will have shewn the *whigs* that they are much mistaken, if, upon every fit of spleen or disgust, they think to meet a resource among the *tories*, who are not used to give any quarter, much less shelter, to men who will but part with a piece of their principle. He who goes over to them, must not go halting. If they have a mind to go to *Rome*, or the *pretender*; it is not enough that you do not oppose them, or even that you wish them a good journey: if you do not go along with them, and accompany them to the very last stage, you do nothing. A vote and a speech now and then will not serve them; they must have all your votes, and all your speeches, otherwise you will never be loved nor trusted.

It will also have taught the *tories*, that the *whigs*, however divided, are still too many for them, and can subsist without sneaking compliances, or dangerous coalitions with *them*. There have been but few instances, of late, where they have been suffered to exert that spirit of oppression, which is inseparable from them; and fewer, I hope, of their being offered seats near the helm. The principle of a *whig*, and that of a *jacobite*, are so opposite and heterogeneous, that there can be no other mixture or comprehension

between them, but that of the one's devouring the other. Every other project for reconciling them is madness or knavery, and there is not at present the least possible pretence for it; which I take to be none of the least blessings attending the present agreement.

The *whig* interest is again united, and, for aught I know, the more strongly for having been disunited. It is therefore a happy and an unexceptionable season for doing all those necessary public-spirited things, which are wanting for the establishment of *whiggism*, but which were prevented by the late rupture. I hope it will now be enquired, whether our universities are not the very sinks of sedition, and of every wicked principle; and whether, enjoying, as they do, at the nation's cost, ease and abundance, they do not pay the nation, in return, with disaffected, slavish doctrines, and poisoned youth. Let the universities remain but unpurged, and the *jacobites* may sneer in our face at every other scheme of ours for our security.

Princes are always respected abroad, in proportion to their strength at home. It is not to be doubted but this our domestic unanimity will raise our foreign credit still higher, and make the peace with *Spain*, which seems

to linger, go on with greater alacrity and ease; and it is reasonably hoped, that hereafter we shall be more upon the square with our good allies, both in the administrations of war, and in the negotiations of peace, than our circumstances have hitherto suffered us to be.

I therefore congratulate my countrymen upon the present happy pacification and unanimity. It will make us considerable to our friends, and formidable to our foes. It will enable us to avow, protect, and encourage every public principle; and leave us without excuse, if we disown or neglect it. It will render every opposition impotent, and every shift and procrastination scandalous. It will serve to shew, whether our past omissions and trimmings were founded upon real weakness, or sleeveless pretences; and whether we wanted power or inclinations to bid defiance to craft and corruption. Here are public grievances, and here is a call and an opportunity to redress them. Here are enemies in our bosom, and here is a fit occasion and capacity to quell and disarm them——If we are in earnest, the success is sure. In this case to succeed well is only to mean well; and nothing but selfish personal regards can obstruct the public good, which therefore, we hope, will not be obstructed at all.

We may presume, that no man, who calls himself a *whig*, will make delay or difficulty, to



come roundly into every scheme which will bring advantage to his country, and honour to himself ; we may particularly expect that no man, who bears that character, will oppose or postpone the scouring of those nests of pedants, who fill the kingdom with locusts and disloyalty ; who, by their execrable positions and example, have dissolved all the ties of conscience, and common honesty ; who have sanctified the hellish sin of perjury, and tacked fame and reputation to treason and rebellion. They have been heaving at our constitution, railing at liberty, civil and religious, and poisoning the nation time out of mind : so that I cannot see how we can any longer neglect putting a stop to this popular contagion, without giving up the first law of nature, that of self-preservation and self-defence.

The prospect I have of the cure of this great evil gives me joy, as the continuance of it has often given me sadness ; and I amuse myself with the certain expectation of a new and agreeable scene. What I have said may probably appear warm language ; but it is entirely the effect of public spirit, and of my own private judgment. God knows, I have no personal animosity towards these men, who, as to  
their

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their morals, deserve pity ; and, as to their genius and productions, are below contempt : and, as to their income and circumstances, nobody envies them their plenty and idleness ; nor are we demanding a reformation of gluttony and laziness. All that we contend for is, the taking away of their stings ; we will tolerate them to be drones, but cannot allow them to turn our world upside down.





A MODEST  
A P O L O G Y  
F O R  
Parson *ALBERONI*,  
G O V E R N O R  
T O  
King PHILIP, *a Minor* ;  
A N D  
Universal Curate  
Of the whole  
*Spanish* M O N A R C H Y :  
T H E  
Whole being a short, but unanswerable Defence  
of *Priestcraft*, and a *New* Confutation of the  
Bishop of *Bangor*.  
First printed in the YEAR 1719.

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# P R E F A C E.

*AS the characters and descriptions in this little treatise are intended for a picture of one set of men only, who have distinguished themselves as much by their uncommon practices and positions, as I have done by this uncommon apology, I may reasonably hope that none will rail at it, who are not hit by it. Therefore, if any gentlemen please to take it ill that I have published their pourtraitures, I am ready to thank them: their anger will be my defence; and it will be sufficient for the justification of my copy, that there are really such originals. They have long sat for their picture, and the features are so*

## P R E F A C E.

*strong and obvious, that it was scarce possible to miss them. If they appear frightful, now they are drawn, the fault is not in me.*

*How amiable is the character of a clergyman, when it is not stained by the wearer ! and every good man will honour that minister who does not dishonour himself. That there are still many such is my pleasure ; that there are not more, is my concern.*

*I added an explanation of this kind by way of postscript to the second edition, and have prefixed it as a preface to the third. It may be necessary to the wilful and the weak,*

*The guesses, which have been made about the author, give me occasion to declare to the world, that my name never yet was in print..*

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**I**T is surprizing what sublime consequences are produced by the humblest instruments. One would think that brass is a metal void of comeliness and merit, either in colour or smell; and yet a suitable portion of it, placed conveniently upon the *forehead*, does frequently entitle the bearer to the highest stations in church and state. It often makes a *bold figure* at the head of a regiment, and often *commands* attention at the council-table. In *Westminster-Hall* it is loud, and *therefore* successful; and, in parliament, popular and persuasive, *for the same reason*. And then again, if you take it in another capacity, it still carries all before it. *Thomas a Becket* was archbishop of *Canterbury*, as have been since several other good doctors of *equal* meekness and merit, whom my fear of giving *offence* keeps me from mentioning; and, at this very time, a certain *apostolical* gentleman \*, who shall also be nameless, is *cardinal* of a great church † betwixt *Newgate* and *Tyburn*.

\* Dr. *Sasbeverel*.† St. *Andrew's*, *Holborn*.



O catholic brass, manifold are thy virtues: I admire thy interest, though I never felt thy friendship; an obstinate fellow, one *Modesty* by name, never suffering me to make acquaintance with thee. Thou fortunate favourite of the court and the cassock, many a fair lady hast thou won, and many a fair post enjoyed: powerful also is thy force in argument: how invincibly hast thou supported the divine right of kings and clergy, their *unbroken* succession, and *unlimited* power, to the utter confusion of common sense, and the *Bishop of Bangor*.

But to proceed with the mighty events that arise from *contemptible* causes; every body has heard that the famous Sir *John Whittington*, at his first setting out in the world, had no greater cargo than a homely *tabby cat*, and she too, like other mortal merchandize, subject to *sale* and *trist*. But she proved a *mighty hunter*, and, by her teeth and reputation, promoted her fellow traveller to the chief post in the chief city. And thus, to draw a moral from the story, *the destruction of rats became the generation of a knight and a lord mayor*.

I have heard, in foreign countries, of a fleshy-headed *chamber-maid*, who, from *pinning her mistress's rump*, got astride *three nations*, and rode them almost out of breath; for she

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was corpulent, and, for the most part, had a spur in her head.

Even the great *Virgil* became a courtier by being a farrier; and a *tapster* \* has been the elements of an ambassador.

Arts and sciences themselves have had their birth from trivial chance. Music, as sweet a girl as she is, had a dirty anvil for her mother, and a base-born hammer for her father, and was midwived into the world by a sooty blacksmith. And astrology derives its genealogy from cow-keeping, the *Chaldean* herdsmen having, while they looked after their flocks, grown familiar with the stars. Thus *Venus* had her water first watched by rustics, who, one would think, could have neither sufficient breeding nor capacity for pimping — but the most elegant arts were rude in their beginnings.

A friar, whilst he was boiling up a balsam for a broken shin, stumbled upon the generation of gun-powder, which was therefore conceived in the womb of a gally-pot, made pregnant by a priest.

The great *Pope Sixtus* the fifth owed his triple crown to the keeping of pigs, and from a mean swine-herd mounted till he came to be chief of another herd, still preserving an analogy between his first and last employment.

The

\* *Matthew Prior*,

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The great *Tompson* had never made watches; had he not first made hob-nails.

All this *waste* of learning, which, in other hands, might fill many books, may serve to introduce the manner and motive by which I came to be an author. Know then, *curious reader*, that a stationer in the city having, last week, *trusted me* with an *inkhorn* and the appurtenances, I began immediately to make use of it, and, upon a trial of my genius, I found I could make as good a figure in print as some other famous writers, whose merit is *best known to themselves*.

My first attempt was upon the witty and voluminous Mr. *Mist*, the journalist, because I would begin with *something signal* at my first setting out. I found his paper, after much search in a blind ale-house, near *Hockly in the Hole*. Having met my rival for fame, instantly I *drew my pen*, and, by several *bold strokes* upon his margin, discovered plainly that *sense and modesty* were not his *seconds*, for they both proved *mine*. But, for all this dreadful enmity between us, I will candidly own that the *Jews*, for whom he lately drew up an *inimitable* petition, have almost as good a title as himself to one sort of advancement in a christian commonwealth. My antagonist would certainly fill a particular *tall post*, which is empty oftener than

*it should be, with becoming merit and justice.* But see, how these parsons run away with *preferments* from the laity! This very post is, I am told, conferred, *for the present*, upon a *genuine son of the church*, who has *conscientiously* deserved it.

Behold, *kind reader*, a *true and full account* of the *origination* of this admirable pamphlet, If heaven spare me my life and my inkhorn, it is likely I may swell into volumes, as divers and sundry *useful writers* have done for no better reason.

Having thus succeeded beyond expectation in my first essay, I am emboldened thereby to an undertaking equal, if possible, to my last, and, from the defence of Mr. *Mist*, I intend to pass, perhaps naturally enough, to an apology for the reverend *parson Alberoni*, who, by the high station he enjoys, *of vice-roy over the king of Spain*, is become the mark of much unreasonable envy. This task of mine will lead me to open and justify the grounds and commendable aims of the *flourishing trade of priest-craft*, for which I promise myself the pious thanks of the convocation, *the next time it fits*.

I hope I shall need no excuse for the sharp things which my zeal for the *church* and the *cardinal* will tempt me to utter,

As

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As to the trifling charge against *my client*, that he has *commanded his pupil*, to break through faith and treaties, and surprize his neighbours, though it be very true, there is *nothing at all in it*. I behold with shame the ignorance of mankind, as to *what passes daily amongst us*. Do we not all know that oaths and obligations, when they are so saucy as to fetter the *catholic pleasure or profit* of the clergy, are ever broken through by *the whole body*, with great *fortitude and unanimity*? Nor is there any malignity in this *convenient* piece of wickedness; for the most damnable sin ceases to be so, *as soon as the priest has unchristened it*, and sucked out its venom with a *Salvo*: when he has done this, as a godly casuist finely observes, *Licet ante peccaverint; jam non peccant*: that is, *the most gross sinners are now innocent, being undamned by the priest*.

This ought to be meant of the laity; for as to the clergy, who are the *avowed porters of heaven*, and *comptrollers* of its power and keys, and *treasurers* of its wrath and mercies, I cannot conceive they should be at any time in an *unsanctified state*, *let them do what they will*. To us indeed, who being laymen, and only the *beasts of the people*, see no further than the *externals of things*, a parson may appear a *very*  
*sad*

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*sad fellow, and tainted with that which, in one of another cloth, might seem great lewdness. But alas ! they have an indelible character which consecrates all their actions, and is the spiritual salt that keeps the corruptions of the clergy from sinking.*

It may perhaps be not unbecoming my present design, to enquire a little in what nook or quarter of the priest this *indelible character*, conveyed by ordination, lurks ; and I think it is evident it cannot lodge in the cassock or habit, since the same has been often worn by *lay-girls*, who, being only companions to the *holy priest in their labours and exercises*, could not pretend to take orders, or be ever *instituted and inducted*.

Nor can this *essential and unalterable spot* reside in the carcass of the priest. For when a *Levite* has been *maliciously tossed off a beam*, and expired *for want of footing*, or died a *natural death of debauchery*, or in any other manner *worthy of himself*, it has never been known that the said carcass *forgave sins*, or executed any *other branch* of the *ecclesiastical office*. For it is remarkable, that *when a parson is dead*, he lies as quiet and peaceable as *another body*, which is a confutation of a point generally believed, namely, that a priest is *never a good neighbour*.

I would

I would not have it alledged that the above-named *stain of priesthood* sticks, like bird-lime, to the soul of the Doctor, when the same has given his body the slip, or that he keeps *his orders, when he has lost his organs*. Profane wits will make a jest of a *ghost in orders*, and, looking upwards, be surprized to find a *priest in a place where no one would expect him*. But let such a scoffer be answerable for his own mirth, I am sure I have a *very good meaning*.

However, though this *indelible character* must for ever remain a *profound mystery to me, who am but an uncircumcised lay-man*, and though I am in duty bound to know what I cannot understand; I have still something further to say in defence of my favourite *cardinal*, his leaping over oaths, which, as I have already proved, cannot tie down a *church-man*.

Archbishop *Laud*, besides his taking and tendering oaths with an *&c.* which *some weak fanatical ministers* would not swallow, and were therefore, like silly fellows, unworthy of *their cloth and order*, undone, because they would not be forsworn; I say, besides this essay of his perjury for the good of himself and the church, *he and the king* obliged the clergy of *Scotland* to swear to a *canonical conformity to a liturgy*

liturgy, a year before it was made. And I have read of a monarch, a *glorious church-man*, for whom, *once a year*, many godly revilings and falsehoods are uttered, and many handkerchiefs wet, who, besides *many* other instances of his sincerity and devotion, swore to the espousals of one lady, while he was engaged by *heart and hand* to another whom he afterwards married.

What I would from hence infer in favour of my client, is, that, if a popish prince and a popish priest have as good a right to be forsworn as an *English catholic prince*, and an *English catholic priest*, the cardinal and his pupil stand justified.

You must own, reader, a monopoly of perjury is not public spirited — I do not indeed envy any of our own clergy *their full share*, who may have been *trading that way*; but to engross the *whole commodity* would be *unfair trafficking*.

But to go on with my apology—— *Kings are accountable to none but God, and the priests to none but themselves*. As this principle is exactly agreeable to the pretensions and practices of the *church* in all ages, I would be glad to see that daring infidel, who calls it in question. The *lay-world* may make oaths, and take them, but, so long as their force depends upon the  
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the pleasure and explications of the clergy, they will be but of small service to mankind. I will vouch for the priests, that they always scorned to be barred by the trifling regards of conscience and swearing, from the *more catholic pursuits of their pleasure and power*; and history, both ancient and modern, will vouch for *me*. I will give instances.

When the prince is hard-hearted enough to humour the church-men, by oppressing and plundering the laity, and politic enough to divide the spoils with *them*, then it is damnation to resist him, because he has a divine right to be mischievous to all men but themselves: But if his majesty is so ill advised, as to provoke their rage by his benevolence to mankind; or, if by a schismatical adherence to truth and liberty, he frustrate their hopes of making him a *good church-man*, the church grows presently in imminent danger from virtue and moderation, who are *notorious dissenters from orthodoxy*; then it is little better than damnation not to resist him, *and woes are denounced against the fearful heart, and the weak band.*

As to his present majesty, there are those of the clergy, who have *forsworn* to be true and faithful to him, over and over, and yet do not so much as pretend they mean any such matter.

ter. They say they must swear or starve, which is a confession that they would rather be damned than fast. What a tribe of simpletons were the martyrs in all ages! their *heterodox notions* made them erroneously prefer their souls to their bellies, and even to their lives — And yet they had a stronger plea for conforming to idolatry and perjury, as death and tortures are somewhat more frightful than bare deprivation — But now-a-days, by *universal consent*, tithes bear a higher price than conscience in any market in England.

In *Edward* the sixth's time, the clergy, to shew themselves true conformists, forsook their harlots and the mass, and were, to appearance, reconciled to *one woman* and the new testament. In queen *Mary's* reign they abandoned the gospel and their wives, and re-became *orthodox catholics*, and, to prove it, grew godly burners of all that had either a conscience or a bible. Upon queen *Elizabeth's* accession to the throne, they once more, like *conformable friends to themselves*, forswore and complied, and afterwards plotted and rebelled. But her reign proved long and glorious. And indeed some, who have not that reverence for the gown, which they ought to have, are of opinion, that it is a certain symptom of happy times,

times, when the priests run mad and cabal ; for, say they, while the people are suffered to enjoy their own, the clergy can have no plunder ; whereas, in a general oppression, the prince and priests generally divide stakes—— They add, that wolves and ravens never fare best but where there are most carcases. But these things ought not to be spoken ; and,

I wonder how any man in his senses dare say such disrespectful things of the *officers of God Almighty's revenue*, who also are a board of commissioners for managing his power, or rather their own power, by *his ministration*.

In the business of excommunication, for instance, do we not see their Maker is *made* little better than their executioner ? He is *obliged* not only to ratify their sentence, but to deliver the person excommunicate into the safe custody of Satan, their gaoler in *comitatu Hell*. The prisoner, the while, not finding himself a bit restrained by his *crediting* landlord, *the devil*, goes to the court, and for a little money is absolved, be his crime what it will, and this sentence also *must* be ratified in heaven, and the former unratified ; and the great God, as if he were the constable of the court, *must* take the *prisoner* out of a goal where he never was, and from the custody of a gaoler whom

whom he never saw, and re-instate him in a church which perhaps he never owned. Thus is the creator of all things, and the giver of all good, made the instrument of their anger and avarice, and a property to bring them reverence and money.

These things are not at all aggravated here, and yet the bare mention of them may seem to expose them; but I mean no more by it than to shew the *wonderful and inconceivable power of the priesthood*, who are as *implicitly obeyed in heaven, as they ought to be on earth*, and have the upper and infernal world as much in their gift, as he has, who is the Maker of both; nay, much more; for, as a reverend Doctor of *our church* has it, *he has given them his commission to dispose of them, and he cannot contradict himself*. They will not allow the King of Kings the *common prerogative* of pardoning a *poor felon*, once in a sessions, without *their* consent, and then he *must not* be punished. How great and awful must these men be who are thus *absolute over the absolute*, and *Kings of the King of Kings*! This may perhaps seem to represent them as no friends to monarchy, but this cannot be imagined, since they themselves are the monarchs of God and men.

After all this omnipotence which I have proved to be in the clergy, where is the need

of believing in any *other* God, or of living ~~in~~ if there was one? No, no, if you would ~~be~~ *absolved and saved, believe in the priest, and live in the fear of the cassock.* What can be ~~more~~ *more* handy than our having a forgiver and a *Saviour* in every parish, besides *deputy-pardoners, and Journey-men-Saviours?*

There is indeed an antient treatise named *scripture*, which, *if we give any credit to it,* would be apt to stagger this our faith in the clergy. It was of great repute at the reformation by a few Doctors, who, not knowing their own power, basely sacrificed the interest of the surplice to that of christianity. But their successors, wiser than these old fellows, and better *church-men*, finding that the said book was pragmatical, and would be opposing the policy and proceedings of their society, translated all the reverence, which was formerly paid to that venerable old book, to a book of canons, composed on purpose, as a *riot* to bring the other under disgrace, insomuch that it is now for the most part condemned to the mean office of teaching children to read. A certain *modern bishop* \* has indeed done his *malicious part* to restore it to its *pristine* regard and dignity, but, as he is *zealously* opposed by all the *truly orthodox*, it is hoped by many he will not succeed.

Com-

\* Dr. Hoadly, then bishop of *Bangor*, late of *Winchester*.

Commend me to the *German monk* whom I have seen mentioned somewhere, I think, by *Monfieur Le Clerc*. This *genuine priest*, faithful to the interest of his order, told his penitents in the godliness of his zeal, *That there was a certain book, writ in Greek, called the new testament, which was full of heresies; and another certain book writ in Hebrew, called the old testament, which, if they believed it, would make them all Jews.*

I would recommend the example of this monk to our *own monks*, but they have saved me the trouble.

There is an outcry in the mouths of too many of the laity against the clergy, which I think is very unreasonable; they accuse them of an implacable enmity to knowledge and illumination; which is very true, and yet very just. How often must these perverse men be told, That *learning and eyes* in the laity are the greatest causes of the contempt of the clergy? Why should we be inquiring into points which ought only to be believed thoroughly, but never understood nor conceived? It ought to suffice us to know that the priests know all things. This might at first have prevented dissenters, and ought now to reclaim them. If we did but humbly and lazily fol-

low our guides, it would save us much trouble, and yet put them to *none*.

Besides, this charge is too general ; for they are always willing we should read and understand *those few texts* that speak civilly of the priesthood, and with, no doubt, there were more of them. Nay, now and then they are so courteous as to split a verse in the bible with us, and, keeping one half to themselves, give us generously the other. For example. *Be wise as serpents, and innocent as doves*, is a text they seem very ready to divide with us, The harmlessness of the pigeon is at our service, but we must not pretend to rob them of the *serpent*.

The cunningest serpent that ever was, I mean the devil in *Milton*, compassed the earth by night, and could not endure the *enlightened side* of the globe.

*The space of seven continued nights he rode  
In darkness.—*

How agreeable the policy of the *arch-fiend* is to the *other gentlemen in black*, I need not explain——Without doubt, the *wisdom and good parts*, even of the devil, are imitable. Who can blame them for hiding deformities and cloven feet? Should knowledge and the scrip-

Scriptures be let loose against the clergy, what dreadful havoc would they make ! These *merciless informers* would make their reputation to be only *daub* and *varnish* ; and their wealth, only *booty* and *plunder* : For what would not two such *bold libertines* swear ? Can we blame men for warding against their mortal foes ?

For the safety therefore of the parsons, in their fortunes and characters, I will consult my *intimate friends, the two houses*, about stopping the mouth of the bible, and the bishop of *Bangor*. This I hope, my *friends* will comply with, for I know they love to *do popular things*, and will be proud to please the *convocation*.

I have been long thinking of a project to reconcile religion and the church to each other. They were *originally intimate friends*, but at present they live at *mortal odds*.

I would not say one word, upon any consideration, to persuade the clergy to give christianity the upper hand of their interest, for I love them too well to affront them : neither would I have them affright themselves with my *reconciling design* abovementioned, for I have given it over as *utterly impracticable* : But, as I am their friend and apologist, I beg leave to recommend to them the removal of a few



unpopular qualities and practices, of which they are fond. And

First, I would advise them to conceal that *unprofitable* propensity which is in them, to burn or strangle dissenters. Persecution is certainly a laudable calling, *when any thing is to be got by it*; and, in such a case, I am not for robbing the clergy of *their dues*, but at present there is neither gain nor credit in it: and therefore, I beseech them, as they love themselves, which is the strongest motive my invention can dictate, to banish this *pennyless-Spirit*: the malignity of the time has deprived them of the power of doing *catholic mischief and murder for the welfare of the church*.

In order to persuade them effectually to close with this my advice, I pray the clergy not to judge of other men's consciences by their own. It would be really whimsical, in a few men; *who are void of bearing*, to set up for *adjusting or restraining the laws of harmony*: The pleasure of procreation is Greek and Hebrew to an eunuch; and indeed to a creature that is *gelt*, liberty of cod-piece must have a very odd sound.

Another point, which seems wrong in them, is their stiling themselves the *ambassadors of a great Potentate*, who, I am afraid, *will not own*

own them. We all know *their instructions*, as *mystical* as they would keep them, and I fear me, were they examined by them, like many other *statesmen*, they would be found *too great to be good*. Should the late Earl of Mar, who hath given some shrewd suspicions of his being for the Pretender, take it in his head to call himself *King George's ambassador*, would not his practices, in *some small measure*, bring in question his professions? The application is easy; it is only supposing the devil a pretender to the kingdom of heaven.

There is, in a certain diocese of this nation, a living worth about six hundred pounds a year. This, and two or three more preferments, maintain *the doctor* in *becoming ease* and *corpulency*. He keeps a chariot in town, and a journeyman in the country; and his curate and his coach-horses are his *equal drudges*, saving that the *four legged cattle* are better fed, and have *sleeker cassocks* than his *spiritual dray-horse*. The doctor goes down once a year to *shear his flock*, and fill his pockets, or, in other words, to receive *the wages of his embassy*; and then, sometimes in an afternoon, if his belly do not happen to be too full, he vouchsafes to mount the pulpit, and to instruct his people in the greatness of his character and

his dulness. This composes the whole parish to *rest*; but, the doctor one day denouncing himself the *Lord's ambassador* with greater fire and loudness than could have been reasonably expected from *him*, it roused a clown of the congregation, who waked his next neighbour, with—*Do'st bear, Tom, do'st bear?* Ay, says *Tom*, yawning, what does he say? Say, answered the other, *he says a plaguy lye to be sure; he says as how he is the Lord's Humbassador;* but I do think he is more rather *the Lord's Receiver-General*, for he never comes but to take money.

Six hundred pounds a year is, *modestly speaking*, a competent fee for lulling the largest congregation in *England* asleep once in a twelve-month.—Such tithes are the *price of napping*, and such mighty odds there are between a *curtain lecture* and a *cushion-lecture*.

The next piece of counsel I would give *my friends in black*, is, that when they are caught in a small crime, or so, they would not always be throwing the blame upon a couple of civil persons and good neighbours, called *flesh and blood*; it is not satisfactory. A bear, when he is hungry, may eat up a good christian, and give as *strong* a reason for it.—

No,

No, let them sin as they preach, and scorn to tell us *why or wherefore*.

Their ambition, of being such *near kinsmen* to the *apostles*, has likewise done them a dis-kindness. A priest may be a boon companion, and an *admirable church-man*, and yet not be a bit like his *cousin* St. Paul. It is therefore for the honour of the clergy, that I would have them drop their alliance with the saints : people will be making *shameful comparisons*, in which the gown, I doubt, will suffer ; for know all men, *by these presents*, that railing at the government, and undermining it, and the contempt of temperance and oaths, with other modes that are now orthodox, were not *apostolical virtues* in former days : and whereas humility, meekness, patience, brotherly love and charity, are, at this day, every mother's son of them, *dissenters and schismatics*, the same were in some small repute many hundred years ago. But what is that to our *present apostles* ?

I often amuse myself with considering the greatness and multiplicity of the characters belonging to the *orthodox* clergy. The meanest reader of them is a kinsman to the apostles, and our saviour's lieutenant, and door-keeper of heaven and hell, and the

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creator of Christians, and the forgiver of sins, and a trumpeter, and a watchman, and a journeyman, and — (I am out of breath) an ambassador.

But, as great men as they are, it is hard, *me* thinks, that an honest lay-man, when he dies, cannot step *up stairs*, without a ticket from an ambassador, who is perhaps a-bed, or out of humour, or taking his bottle or *his girl*, and the like.

My friends, the ambassadors have another custom too, which favours not so much of the *serpent as it ought to do*. A man cannot grow eminent for his knowledge and writings, but forthwith the ambassadors grow fearful of him, and cry *atheist* at him. This I would pray them to forbear. I own I have my own ends in giving them this wholesome admonition; for, to tell it to my *dear friend, the world*, as a secret, which I desire may go no further, I begin myself to be *more* than apprehensive of the charge of *atheism*, against me.

The church-men have, moreover, found it for their interest, time out of mind, that most of their foes should drink a bumper to *Beelzebub* next their heart every morning: Now, I declare I am not at all acquainted with the devil, and I desire the ambassadors, if he should

should tell them the contrary, not to credit him; for, whatever they may think of it, he is a sad lying fellow.

Mr. *Locke*, I grant, gave them sufficient cause to abuse him, by his *speaking well of human understanding*, and *explaining the scriptures*. But, for myself, I vow and protest, upon the word of an author, I never yet did the clergy the least ill office, by teaching mankind either reason or religion: I confess, I love them both well enough to merit the *character of an infidel*, but I keep my affection to piety and truth, to myself, for fear of provoking the *ambassadors*; they being engaged in another interest.

I, who am their apologist, must own, it is not without reason they look askint upon humanity, and useful knowledge, and moderation, and the like *lay-virtues*. A man that wants legs, would certainly think himself insulted and reproached, should a pragmatical fellow take it in his head to be dancing and cutting capers before him. Folks that have no teeth, do not love crust.

But, notwithstanding all these friendly concessions of mine in favour of the *ambassadors*, I must still pray them, for the future, to keep their *atheism* to themselves, though they may have a

*great deal of it to spare.* For, while there are a few left, who make bold to believe there is another God besides the clergy, an adherence to scripture and common sense will not fail to be approved by *many*, and would be by *more*, were it thought consistent with the *dignity and designs* of the ambassadors, to *permit* the common people to return to their senses.

But this, alas ! is not to be expected, so long as judgment and understanding are so apparently opposite *to the rights of the church.*

The *Roman* clergy are justified in keeping the laity in subjection and ignorance, by a bold pretence to infallibility : whereas our priests, equally bold, but less reasonable, would make us slaves and blockheads, and yet *cannot give us a reason for it.* It is confessed they have a certain hard word, one *orthodox*, which is their friend at a pinch, and serves them on all occasions, for a ready answer to every objection. But this same orthodox, though it *fully convinces many good church-men*, yet *hath lost its original meaning*, and, for many ages, signified either every thing, or nothing. Indeed; when the church hath her hands *unkound*, *orthodoxy* is a word of high importance, and constantly signifies the pillory and whipping-post, and the  
church

church that hath these *reforming engines* of its side, is, *of course*, the *most apostolical*.

This *orthodox* has likewise been *compelled to mean several other meanings*, upon several occasions. Sometimes it is an altar, and sometimes a book of canons; sometimes a convocation, and sometimes a mob; it is this minute a bishop in his throne, and the next a tithe-pig. Now and then it is slavery and unlimited loyalty, and presently it is sedition and rebellion, *without reserve*. It is a tyrant when a master, and an incendiary when a servant, and either plotting mischief, or acting it. When it is a doctor, it argues by strong hand, and, as ill as it likes the bible, it would keep it all to itself. When it is in adversity, it snatches up the first remedy that comes to its hand, lawful or unlawful: but to others in the same circumstances it recommends *prayers and tears*, especially when they are to no purpose: if you give it all it asks, it will perhaps *seem* contented; but if you shew its hated foe, *moderation*, the least countenance, it will spit in your face, and call you son of a whore: for, whatever disguise it appears in, it is very apt to be in a passion, and call names; nay, if its hands are not tied, it will bite and scratch, and kick, and sting, and bounce and bellow, and knock down  
all



all that come near it, unless they swear a bloody oath, *they are for the church.*

But, as useful as this *orthodox* is to the clergy, it will never justify them, in the opinion of impartial judges, for marking the best and most elevated spirits with the brand of atheism; virtue, learning, and humanity, will find friends in spite of orthodoxy, and many of the laity will live in the fear of God, let the clergy take it ever so ill; and others will be lovers of truth and mankind, at the hazard of being hated by the church.

I must now have some talk with my friends, the ambassadors, upon another point, and that is their claim of divine right to every thing which they have a mind to call *theirs.*

It is certain the monks acquired most of their possessions by such means and arts as would have been scandalous and diabolical, had they been practised by *lay-men.* But *clerks only* have the sacred privilege of tricking and playing the devil for the prosperity of the church. Now these possessions of the monks, though forfeited to the crown by the law, for having been fraudulently got, and unjustly kept, to maintain laziness and debauchery, are to this hour claimed by our *present monks*, as the undoubted successors of the *other half vermin*, in purity of doctrine

*doctrine and of manners.* Thus aiming in every point to resemble these their pious predecessors, they would willingly hold their lands by *roguey and divine right.*

The antient monks were much more generous and reasonable than the *present set*; for they gave their bubbles an *equivalent* for their wealth — They would at any time jockey away a small tenement in *Abraham's bosom*, for a rich manor in *England*; whereas our *modern monks*, notwithstanding their avowed authority over their maker, and his dominions *above*, are so far from *dealing* like chapmen, that, in exchange for our possessions, they do not so much as offer us a little *bargain* in paradise. If the *propriety of that ground be theirs*, they might at least tender a *future cottage* for a *present palace*, and the rather, because by experience we know, that, when we are at their mercy, they allow us, *in this life*, little else but dungeons, whips and chains, and the like *inducements* to reverence the priesthood, who, for the *good of our souls*, use our bodies *bloody ill*. And it cannot be denied, when the *ambassadors* are let loose, they act as if they were, in truth, *the scourges of God, by divine right.*

Now, I, their apologist, do earnestly persuade the ambassadors to drop this claim. All the

the laics who read the bible know there is nothing of it in that book, and they do not see that the clergy live in so good an understanding and *conformity* with their maker, as to merit from him a grant of all the lands in *England* by *word of mouth*.

What they have by *human right* let them keep, and make much of it; nay (to please them) let them wrangle and go to law about it as much and as often as they will — But this is a hint they do not want. A parson's bull and his grey pad feed on tithe-hay and corn, which is the provender of these brutes by *Divine right*, and yet I never observed they grew fatter upon this *divine* food than a *lay-bull* and a *lay-stone horse*, or were less addicted to carnality and lewdness.

I shall say nothing here of the *divine right* which doubtless the ambassadors have to *pluralities and non-residence*: Only by the by, suppose the earl of *Stair* should desire his majesty to make him ambassador to half a dozen courts beside that of *France*, and undertake to execute all these employments by his *footmen*, I fancy his excellency would be roundly told, That discharging an embassy by a *curate* is such a Solœcism in politics as a *lay-minister* must not be guilty of.

I now proceed to another *catholic* topic, which is run into *prodigious* luxuriancy and irregularity ; I mean the good *art of lying* for the church. I do not intend to debar the *ambassadors* from their most righteous and most antient practice of martyring their conscience to their cassock, and venturing their precious souls against the dangerous and fanatical incroachments of their old foe, *truth*, which was never a friend to the *trade* of the tippit. It is to be wished, however, that their laudable zeal for this venerable *usage* were a *little* limited ; and therefore that it may not grow useless by being altogether boundless, *as it is at this Day*, I, *the apologist* for the church, prompted by pure affection, will make bold to lay down *two Rules* to be observed by the *ambassadors, who are liars for the good of it*, as well as Sir *H. Wooton* was for the good of the state. \*

And first, I implore them, as they love their *precious livings*, not to *fish* out of the bible. I know it is the hardest thing in the world to break men of a *long and strong* habit, particularly when they *much* delight in it ; but I pray them to consider that the bible is the most awkward creature under the sun at fathering a lye. You may easily know when *he* is quoted for a falsehood, for, if you ask him, he will deal up-  
rightly

\* Sir Henry Wooton defined an ambassador, A man that *lied for the good of his country*.

rightly with you, and tell you the naked truth. It was a malicious thing of our ancestors, and a great blow upon the *ambassadors*, to teach *this foreigner* our Language; for, ever since he has been *naturalized* and taught *English*, he blabs out every thing he knows.

Good doctors, take warning from the *wretched* fate of a *brother doctor*,\* who, in a furious fit of zeal to destroy his country, and *save* the church, took a passage or two out of the bible, that were not in it. Upon this some *unleavened lay-men*, who had a singular affection for the scripture, but were bitter enemies to the church, went and consulted their *old friend* the bible, who told them frankly, and like a neighbour, that this *saviour* of the church had *belyed him*; and, after spending some moments in admirations of the doctor's *Want of memory*, added, That *the doctor* and *he* had never been, in the least, acquainted in all their lives.

A *fore stroke* this upon our *ambassador*, but it did not rest here. These hard-hearted lay-men, preferring the reputation of an *obsolete treatise* to that of a *modish ambassador*, hung up the story at *Westminster-Hall*, and then published it to all the world. Which dreadful usage did so provoke the *meek ambassador*, that  
from

\* Dr. Sachseperel.

from that hour to this, he could never endure law, or gospel, or truth, or good manners; but, being now both distracted and hardened to, a degree, he swears and rails, and lyes more or less every day in the week, *but most terribly on Sundays.*

Behold the damage which accrues to the church from the aptness of the bible to tell tales !

This boldness in us *lay-animals*, or, as a *great church-man* † loves to call us, *The beasts of the people*, to meddle with knowledge, and study the *word of God*, is undoubtedly a shameful insult upon the *ambassadors*, and a manifest impropriation of their *rights* and *profits*. But there is no help for it, the laity will, *against all reason*, be exercising their *reason*, and judging in things which, though *plain* and *necessary*, ought to remain a *profound mystery*. All this is the more intolerable, for that both the prophets and apostles give a very harsh and unkind character of our *present orthodox clergy*. It is well for these *calumniators* and *low-church-men*, that they are dead.

Having now shewed the *ambassadors* that it is by no means safe, even when the church is in the greatest danger, to lye for its preservation out of the *boly scriptures*, which are ever *backward* to own and vindicate the *cause* of the  
cassock

† Mr. Lesley,

*caffock*; I proceed to give them a rule to lye by, when they fetch their falshoods out of their own heads—And it is only this, *to lye with probability*. How many a glorious *catholic* *forgery* has been murdered by making it too *catholic*, that is, *too monstrous*? What pity it is there should be any excess in piety and good works!

In the time of the late rebellion I dined, by accident, at a gentleman's house in the west, who made no secret of his being a Jacobite, or, as he explained it, *a true churchman*. The *parson*, I found, was gone to the next village to cater for news, and, being impatiently expected by the Esquire, arrived just as we were sitting down to dinner. *Well, doctor, says his worship, What is the word?* *M A R, M A R, Sir,* replied the doctor, *What should it be?* Here all the family chuckled, perceiving the *good man* had got a packet that pleased him. However, before he broached his *best news*, he let us know that king *George* (to whom he gave *another name*) had got a guard about him, consisting of *five thousand Turks, and ten thousand presbyterian parsons*. These *ill tidings* made madam sigh for the church, and therefore the doctor hastened to tell her *better*. *Come, madam, says he, hold up,*  
*day*

*day dawns in the north, the brave Mar has two hundred thousand Highlanders well armed and principled, to serve your ladyship and the church; and three hundred and fourscore great French ships of war were this morning seen making towards Portsmouth. The lady thanked God with an ejaculation, and his ambassador with a glass of sherry. He then proceeded to assure us, That the Duke of Argyle's army had deserted to a man, and that his Grace himself was fled in a poor fishing-boat to Greenland, or somewhere, far away; that his majesty had stole away from St. James's, and was not to be found high nor low; and that the duke of Marlborough bit his thumbs, and looked as pale as ashes. This great news procured the ambassador the other glass of sherry, and madam clapped the other custard upon his plate. He then assured us, of his own knowledge, that the duke of Berwick had, on some occasion or other, given the earl of Stair a terrible box on the ear, and ordered him to leave the kingdom in three hours, on pain of being put in the stocks. A brave man this duke of Berwick, says a booby at the parson's elbow, the squire's eldest son. Ay, says the parson, and,*

*Here is to Berwick the bold,  
And may his Grace live to grow old.*

He



118     *A CORDIAL for LOW SPIRITS.*

He went on in this wantonness of fancy, and lyed and rhimed beyond all bounds. The 'squire squeezed him by the hand, and put his health round, and I saw nothing but mirth and gaiety. For myself, I laughed with the rest, and owned the *ambassador's* news to be *wonderful strange*. He was afterwards very arch upon a brace of *Turks*, and a garden of turnips that he planted in his majesty's bed-chamber. But as he was going on with his news and calumny, and *just shipping off the royal family*, for whom he had provided a lodging somewhere in *Holland*, an honest gentleman came in with the printed account of both the *battle of Preston*, and that of *Dumblain*; for, living far from a post-town, he had his letters but once a week. The *ambassador* was instantly taken with an occasion to make water, and left both his news and his custard unfinished. But I told the gentleman the wonders the doctor had told *us*, and he shewed us the monstrous impossibility of them; which had so good an effect, that though he continues his trade to this day, and lyes as *fervently* as ever, especially from his *wooden sanctuary*, yet the perverse people *uncharitably* refuse to be any longer his rogues and zealots; whereas, before this his unhappy detection, he could set them a railing,

railing, and swearing, and mobbing, at his christian pleasure. It is true, many of the good women are still his believers and conformists; but this is ascribed to a cause not quite so spiritual.

Take warning, O reverend ambassadors, from the forlorn miscarriage of this your blundering brother, who, transported with orthodox zeal, carried a well-meaning lye beyond the bounds of likelihood, and has thereby utterly disabled himself from serving the church and his order, as long as he lives—Better, oh better he had been a bed that inauspicious day, though with his handmaid, as usual.

Not so the artful and eloquent father Francis,\* who holds forth a lye, and weeps over a lye, with a praise-worthy cunning and dexterity. He dresses up the pretty puppet so amiably, all at the cost and charges of his own fancy, and laments over it so movingly, that there is not a dry eye, nor a dry handkerchief, in the whole congregation. The tears and rage of his hearers are equally in his power; the whole order would, no doubt, envy him, were he not, though greatly lewd, an excellent churchman.

He was once raising the pity of his hearers, for a hopeful, unfortunate young gentleman, who, though born to three great estates, was so  
ill

\* Dr. Francis Atterbury, bishop of Rochester.

ill used, and *persecuted*, that he had not a hovel to put his *catholic head* in. In short, he described the poor lad's circumstances so artfully, and lamented him so pathetically, that I thrust my hand into my pocket, and, had *the Pretender* been within three pews of me, I should infallibly have reached him half a crown; a larger charity than I give to *every poor body*. I perceived the same sympathy and commiseration in the looks of the whole church.

On every 30th of *January*, how many *butchers* does he send home, calling for their *cleavers*, to hew in pieces all the *Presbyterian demons*, that had a hand in the *slaughter* of the *martyr*! For it is a standing maxim and *resolve* amongst *the ambassadors*, that all the dissenters, who ever lived, or shall live, to the end of the world, *must be the very individual men that murdered King Charles the First with their own hands*. Another time he gave us a frightful image and description of *Oliver Cromwell's time*; but he threw so many *modern incidents* into the character, that the whole congregation *mistook* him to mean the *present reign*, and I, like a booby, amongst the rest, was of the same opinion; and he put me so out of *humour* with the court and the ministry, that I snatched up my hat and cane, and went directly to *expostulate* with a *secretary of state*,  
upon

upon the *dreadful doings* and *mismanagements* which *friar Francis* had pointed at; I likewise intended to admonish the *courtiers* to be ruled by the clergy, if they expected to prosper. But, when I came to St. James's, I found that things had quite another face there, than when they came out of the mouth of *friar Francis*. So I kept my business to myself, and sneaked off, warned however to trust no more to the representations of this *reverend father in guile*.

But, I hope, for the sake of the *ambassadors*, no body else will take the same pains to be untaught the *apostolical forgeries*, which their excellencies may find it convenient to broach from time to time — Such a rash proceeding would utterly destroy the credit of the cassock throughout this land. But my *honourable friends* know themselves very safe in the *conformable credulity* of their hearers: and yet I must still praise that wary *doctor most*, who lyes best, that is, like *friar Francis*, most artfully. He well knows, that the *pious art of falshood* is the only engine they have left to defend the reputation of the *crape*, and to wound that of their great rival for power, the GOVERNMENT. He therefore manages with care and art this *last shift*.

I have already given a *reason sufficient*, why oaths ought not to hamstring the *ambassadors*.

to which I will here add, in defence of the innocent *sin of perjury*, that if *their* universal custom and practice in all ages be of any force, as sometimes custom alone creates law, then here is an apology in a few words, for such *genuine clergymen* as have *for sworn* to his present majesty for the preservation of their *cupboards and tithes*, of which the *holy church* hath made them *overseers*. It is not, therefore, without *valuable considerations*, that the *conscientious priests* have reconciled themselves to this *innocent sin*, and made perjury the *easiest task* under the sun. Not but that the *conformable, good* creatures can abstain from it (as much as they are used to it) when there is *more got* by NON-JURING.

I knew the *ambassador of a parish* near the Bath, who had for many years sworn and prayed with *constant conformity*, and enjoyed his *living* and his *October*, without the least tumult in his conscience, till the beginning of the *late rebellion*; but this same conscience of his (being something of a *time-server*) no sooner heard that the *Highlanders* were risen, but it began to rise too, and gave the *doctor* several hints, which he thought were *just and reasonable*. In short, it drew up a remembrance to him, by which it appeared, that if he did but handle the present opportunity well,

he might bid fair to get something, without losing any thing. The doctor was ready to follow the advice of so rational a conscience, and so pretended to quit his parish, because as he told his people in a doleful discourse at parting, he could not, with any conscience, pray for a prince who had no right, and so forth. Thus the doctor seemed to risk a small living for the good of his poor soul, and a deanry: and only seemed, for, being as cautious as he was conscientious, he had his church supplied with a deputy-ambassador, vulgarly called a curate. However, the doctor enjoyed the honour and character of a confessor for a few weeks, and then the defeats of Mar and Forster gave him such convincing proofs of his majesty's right, that his courteous conscience, the best-natured yielding thing alive, made him and perjury cordial friends once more. He took the oaths, and kept his parish, and prays now for the government with the same sincerity as ever.

Before I have done, I must have a little chat with my friends, the ambassadors, upon the head of politics; and I cannot but conceive they are somewhat too fickle and changing in their friendship and enmity to princes and states: and inconstancy in schemes is an essential error in statesmen.

The *ambassadors* were, for some time, exceeding fond of the late *French King*, who indeed took *prevailing methods* to please them. In the first place he exerted the *full prerogative of a monarch by divine right*, upon his *lay-subjects*, and treated them as *slaves born to breathe but for his pleasure*. Secondly, he strove gloriously, by frauds and violence, to destroy the most powerful and most *obnoxious nest of republicans* in the world, dull *Dutchmen*, that will be for *trade and liberty of conscience*, let our *clergy say what they will to the contrary*. Thirdly, (O glorious article!) He exercised such *wholsom severities upon dissenters*, that every *true churchman* ought to *worship him to all eternity*. And yet, after all this complicated merit, they withdrew *their Protection* from him, as soon as he grew friends with *King William*. But he quickly merited their smiles; for he bravely broke his faith, and fell a murdering the damned *Dutch* again: and, during the whole course of the war, they continued to grieve for his losses, and to curse the *Duke of Marlborough* for stopping the course of *his most christian cruelties*. But still they grumbled at his slowness in lending them a few *ships and troops* to do a certain *job* which they had *much at heart*, because it would have  
 changed

changed the *ill-contrived model* of our laws and religion into a form more *pleasing to them*.

The *regent* was *honoured* with their *good-graces*, while he was suspected of aiding the *rebellion for the church*; but, now it appears he has no spite against their country and constitution, they have taken up a mortal *one* at him.

*Sweden* was once the only object of their affection and their prayers, whilst its king was expected with a fleet and army to rescue the *church*, by *fire and sword*, and *popery*, from the danger of a *protestant government*. But *Sweden* failed them, and presently

The *czar* of *Muscovy* got into their favour, and it was strongly hoped, that that *meek monarch* would set fire to the nation, and help the *church*; and though he baulked them, the *ambassadors* are still fond of him, he having, by his *humanity to his son and several others*, shewn, that he *knows the use of wholesome severities*; besides, it is thought he has *no good will for England*.

The *Turk* was at one time a *very popular churchman*, for he was at war with the *christians*, and therefore ——— great things were expected from him by the *ambassadors*, for



*the prosperity of the church : But Prince Eugene who is not a good churchman, drove their Mahometan friend back to his whore-house again —*

Even the emperor himself, when it was reported he had given his sister to the pretender, was honoured with the character of a well-wisher to the church of England ; but, that *he* not proving true, his imperial majesty lost ground amongst the ambassadors, and is at present in such disgrace with them, that nothing but *his* going to mass, makes them keep measures with him.

The Dutch were ever the objects of their indignation and utter aversion, but, at this present time, even *these* republicans, and non-christians, by their *slowness* in signing the quadruple alliance, have won the hearts of our ambassadors, and the Hagan Adigum have now the good fortune to be deemed judicious and moderate schismatics ; but I am in great dread, that they will very shortly anger the church again.

But *per*son Alberoni, my client, is, of all the potentates in Europe, the Pope himself not excepted, their present favourite and darling, as I, though unworthy, expect soon to be, for per-  
ning

ring this *unanswerable encomium* upon him and them.

Their love of this potent *High-Churchman*, who like another *Cardinal Laud*, leads his *pupil* by the nose, and the purse-strings, can proceed from nothing but their fondness for *works of charity*, to which, it seems, my *client* shews a strong inclination, particularly, in an instance or two that cannot but please the church.

We all know there are several worthy *English gentlemen*, the good friends of our *ambassadors* and *loyal sufferers for the church*, who live like *vagrants in Italy*, and are fed with crumbs from the *Pope's table*. Now the *loving cardinal* has, in his *royal bounty*, invited these *pious protestants* into his *kingdom*, offering them a morsel, and a bed; though it is feared the *present parliament* hath taken such *uncatholic resolutions* as may put the *cardinal's majesty* out of humour, and tempt him to change his mind.

Sir *George Byng* too is never to be forgiven by any man who wishes well to the church and uniformity, for creating such a *dangerous schism* in the *cardinal's flock*, who were too *catholic* to digest the *dreadful breif* of *protestant powder and ball*.

It was rude in Sir George to break the heads of so many civil Spaniards, who were men of peaceable behaviour, and no-wise addicted to fighting. It is true they afterwards behaved themselves like heroes, when they resought the English in the Marquis de Beretti Landi's paper, where his Excellency has made them shew the true Spanish bravery, by beating Sir George bravely, and running away from him bloodily. And it is plain to all the world, that they shewed, by a bold flight, they scorned to die to please that merciless heretic.

I could add many particulars to illustrate the worth of my eminent client, parson Alberoni, whose great capacity to rule his master is visible to mankind. I could likewise insist that he has as good a right as any other priest or vicar whatsoever, to act as becomes his order, by nourishing war and desolation.

But I will wave the detail of these points, though there is a great deal in them, having a grand thing to urge in his behalf, which renders him singularly dear to all true churchmen.—Reader, a word in your ear; parson Alberoni intends, if King George would but let him, to restore — and the church-lands.

*O Sanctum festumq; diem!*

Having

Having left this *important* whisper upon the reader's memory, I shall say no more.

*N. B.* Not one of the *numerous* answers, which will be made to this *apology*, will be worth reading. But, at the *earnest* request of my *bookseller*, I design to write and publish a *reply to myself*, which I desire every body to buy.



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AN  
**A P O L O G Y**  
FOR THE  
*Danger of the Church.*

PROVING,

That the CHURCH is, and ought to  
be always in *Danger*; and that it  
would be *dangerous* for her to be  
out of *Danger*.

Being a Second Part of the APOLOGY  
for Parson ALBERONI.

First Printed in the YEAR 1719.

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THE prospect of doing great and useful actions, or the consideration of having done them, must needs be matter of pleasure and triumph to a mind honestly ambitious. It is therefore no little joy to me to reflect, that I have been a person of notable moment and significancy this winter ; by my strenuous defence of high-church, *and the trade thereof*. I have placed its true sons and overseers in a true light, in which every one may behold them, and *bow down with his face to the earth*.

As all pious deeds meet with some reward, either in the internal satisfaction of the mind, or from the monuments of praise erected by mankind to the *doer*, I have no reason to say that my late *apology* went without its recompence ; since by it I have gained, what I sincerely aimed at, to the *genuine priesthood* all due honour, and to myself ———. But it becomes me, who am but a *private gentleman*, to serve my country *for nothing*.

There is, however, some good fortune generally attending the *brave man* who draws in defence



defence of the church. She is a lucky old body, and few find cause to repent of having done her a good turn. I myself, her weak though voluntary champion, am two pairs of shoes and a beaver the richer, for wearing out three pens, and exhausting a halfpenny's worth of ink in her service. I still want a sword-knot and a tooth-pick-case, which I make no question of earning in a few days from the press. I have for that purpose, at this very juncture, seventeen pamphlets in my head, all carved out into proper method and paragraphs; and ten of them are already sold to my bookseller, who purchases my brains at so much a sheet. I would willingly sell him the other seven, and throw two or three little ones into the bargain; but he shakes his ears, and seems to say, *He has ventured enough already.*

In this manner is my pregnant head become an office of wit and manuscripts, to be employed wholly in the interest of the *favoured* brood of Aaron.

Pursuant to this I have a project now on foot, which, if duly encouraged, will tend to the universal credit and emolument of this *distressed* church. In short, it is my purpose to expose my head, and the furniture thereof, to sale by auction, at St. Paul's Chapter-house on the 33d of May next; at which time and place,

place, I do hereby humbly hope and beg the presence and encouragement of all the reverend zealots within this realm. The particulars are as follows :

## A C A T A L O G U E

Of unborn pamphlets, and satyrs, to be published as soon as they are brought forth, for the benefit of our *mother church*, and her hopeful boys, the parsons.

*Imprimis*, The nature and necessity of an ecclesiastical delirium, or the art of holy foaming. Written in the stile of the eloquent Dr. *Saacheverel*.

2. The holy monopoly ; or a new conveyance of an old grant, signed and sealed *above* ; proving the clergy to be the natural lords of all the women and land in *Great Britain*, and the *rightful occupants* of both, in spite of all laymen and rent-rolls whatsoever. ——— A valuable pamphlet.

3. The tribe of *Issachar* ; or an argument to prove that the laity have a right to no liberty, but that of being slaves to the clergy. To which is added an appendix, proving that the parsons ought to govern the world.

4. The modern paradox ; or a demonstration that ungodliness may be orthodox, and a good life damnable. The whole being intended

ed for a defence of the Reverend Dr. Sacheverell and a reproof to Mr. Whiston.

5. The truth of contradiction ; or church arithmetic, demonstrating, *That three is one, and one is three.*

6. The unreasonableness of understanding the Scripture.

7. The absolute necessity of understanding our duty to the clergy.

8. The innocence of perjury and rebellion, *on one side.*

9. A plain proof that laymen may lawfully commit sin, if they will pay for it, and kneel for pardon to the clergy.

There are several more MSS. of the like nature and tendency, which may be seen at the place of sale, with the price marked upon them.

I have already confessed, that my humble attempts to serve the church have not altogether missed their recompence ; and if the late *blessed martyr*, Jemmy Shepherd, with some other *orthodox gentlemen*, who fought and were hanged for the church, did not fare so merrily, it was because the clergy were not consulted and obeyed, as questionless they ought to have been. But thus it will ever be, while the king and parliament are *suffered to act independently on the convocation.*

Since

Since therefore I have succeeded in my honest endeavours, to set up the parsons as the idols of the universe, I cannot, in gratitude to them and myself, forbear pursuing my blow, till I have satiated their holy leachery, and Mr. *Lessie's* prophecy, by persuading mankind, *to fall down before them, with their faces to the earth, and lick up the dust of their feet.* And, when I have once obliged the *lay Gibeonites* to be as *respectful and miserable* as becomes them, the clergy and I will sit down together, and sacrifice to wine and tobacco.

In the mean while it shall be my present task to confound gainsayers, by proving, *That the church is, and ought to be in danger, and that it would be dangerous for her to be out of danger.*

But, before I proceed, I must, for my own security from cavillers, and for the greater clearness of my discourse, settle the idea which I and all men ought to have of the church, by defining the word. *The church, then, is a sable society of gentlemen, wearing broad bats and deep garments; who possess great part of the wealth and power of the world, and would have all, as a reward for keeping mankind in decent ignorance and bondage.*

And now I enter upon my design, with great alacrity of heart.

I own the gospel makes this story of the church's danger a meer fable ; but be it also known, that, though our saviour, says, the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, *our parsons* will not take his word for it. I am sorry with all my heart, for the great misunderstanding and difference which there are between Jesus Christ and his ambassadors, almost in every point of belief and practice ; and, I confess, it is very odd, that they, who pretend all their power to be from him, should not credit his most solemn promises ; but I see no remedy for these things.

I, that am a layman, find great comfort in being a Christian and a believer ; and particularly I am so much of a heretic, as to think, that, when our Saviour said his Father was greater than he, he did not tell a word of a lye ; I know his ambassadors are of another opinion ; but I have faith in Christ Jesus.

The danger of the church comes from divers causes, the principal of which I shall reckon up.

And first, common sense and sobriety are great enemies to the church. While men are sober and rational, they can see about them, and want that large competency of blindness which so eminently qualifies a man for a good churchman.

churchman. So long as they are destitute of that *title to orthodoxy*, they will be attending to the means of their own interest and safety, than which no greater rubs can be thrown in the priesthood's way.

Not many years ago, when we were beating our enemies, and defending ourselves and *Europe* from chains ; when success and reputation attended us abroad, and we flourished in peace and security at home ; an ignorant person would think we were a happy people, and indeed we were so : But what then ? Our happiness, virtue, and concord, were not only utterly inconsistent with the welfare of the church ; but put it into terrible danger : And therefore all her true sons bent their whole might and zeal to relieve her by distracting the nation ; and their pious and fiery endeavours, at last, made the people mad, and the church safe. Its strongest votaries, the ingenious vulgar, drank away their reason and humanity, and committed bloodshed and blasphemy, every-where, for the church, with vast zeal and success ; and the church gathered most strength, when religion and reason had least. As for those *fanatical* sober rogues, that kept their senses, they were devoutly knocked down by those who were so orthodox as to have none. At this *blessed*  
*junction*

*junction* the clergy had the happiness to see more blood and beer drawn for the church, than ever had been before on any occasion whatever. And it is always an infallible sign of the church's health and prosperity, when the business of excisemen and surgeons increases beyond measure.

It will fall *naturally* under *this head*, to observe who are the church's best and staunchest friends.

And in the first place, there are many noble lords, who are *born friends to the church*, and live and die in that friendship. There is the little *lord Apemore*, who has bestowed his whole heart upon parsons and race-horses. He knows nothing else, and happily for the church, cares for nothing else. He seems with *St. Francis* to be an implacable foe to all human knowledge and charity; but he can say the *Athanasian* creed; drink damnation to the whigs, and is, upon the whole, a compleat churchman. *Lord Apemore* was once drinking a health to his horse *Fredric*, and, among those who heard it, it went round; but, when it came to the turn of a whig in company to drink, he, being thick of hearing, mistook, and, throwing up his hat with loyal noise and affection, drank *Prince Fredric*. Upon which the peer, rising from

from his seat, *Dam me, fir, what d'ye mean Sir? Dam me, fir, d'ye know where you are, Sir? Dam me, we know no Prince Frederic here, fir; and Dam me, fir, we are drinking a better man's health, fir.* This excellent speech has gained his Lordship the reputation of a wit, and a brave man, among all the parsons and Squires round the country.

*Corpulus* is another Right Honourable Person, who has been a true church man from his cradle. To a concussion in that machine it is thought he is indebted for his orthodox principles, and his security from the dangerous influence of human reason. I could give ample proofs of this, but his lordship through the whole course of his life has done it to my hand. He makes a joke of the king's title, and of his own oath to maintain it; he is as honourably ignorant as becomes a great personage and a true church-man, and he never goes to bed without swallowing eight quarts, and as many thousand oaths. Let the world judge if this man be not a cordial and approved friend to the hierarchy.

The *Lord Syntax* is past forty, and has all the rules of grammar by heart; but, notwithstanding this great accomplishment, *the carol* is not yet taken off his face, and he is still a minor.

But,



But, being a *babe* in common sense, he is consequently a resolute high church-man.

*Lord Gemini* does likewise demand honourable mention on this occasion. Nature was very negligent when she made this great man, for he is an *unfinished piece of brown earth*, and his mind (if he has one) tallies exactly to his outside. He cannot shut his mouth, nor hold his tongue. However, half made as he is, he is full of bright zeal; and, when he is in the house, he seems to mean several speeches for the church, but no mortal is so well bred as to hear him: And yet, his mouth, as I said, being always ready open, he proceeds eternally.

I confess that *Earl Talman*, though he is a church man, wants two essential qualifications for that character: He has sense, and he is never drunk. But, quoth *Cato*, who had not a due respect for *priesthood and tyranny*: *Beatus Cæsar ad evertendam rempublicam sobrius advenit*. To be just to *Earl Talman*, I grant he was twice a whig upon valuable considerations, and once out of a pique. But at present he is a great church-man, because he has not a proper reason to be otherwise.

*Lord Bowling-Green* \* is no fool neither, nay, he was a wit and a writer during the life of

a

\* *Sheffield*, Duke of *Buckingham*,

a great poet,\* whose death had such an effect upon him, that he has not writ a line since. But, though the peer has sense, yet it happens so oddly, that he is a true church-man. But malicious people pretend to give you a reason for it, by alledging that he leans towards infidelity. If this be true, the thing is not at all strange.

I was going on with my characters of this sort, but I must remember that I have not now time to write *a folio*.

From what has been said, I hope it is evident why most of our rural 'squires and pursuers of foxes are excellent high church-men. These *married minors* are all under the dominion of their wives and the parsons, who regale one another with caudle and orthodoxy, *and so forth*, and govern these simple vehicles of worship and nonsense, and mould their hearts and *their heads* into what faith and *figure* they please. And it must be acknowledged, to the honour of these *genuine gentlemen*, that they have an admirable knack at *planting* orthodoxy in all its branches, wherever they come.

*Andrew la Fool*, Esq; keeps special beer, and has a wife who loves the church and *all its tackle*. *Andrew* never dines without seven parsons at his elbow.

'Squire

\* Mr. Dryden.

'Squire Toby lived in a married state nine years without issue; he at length took a chaplain into his house, and now his wife is with child: See, says Toby, *the blessing that attends the keeping of a clergyman in one's house! And yet, but to please my wife, I had not done it.*

I am far from being surprized that our rural members vote on all occasions for the church. Is not *filial duty* a potent reason? And is there no gratitude, nor affection, due to the good men who brought them probably into the world, and certainly into *the house*? For our country candidates have an agent, to be sure, *if not a father*, in every parish in the county, who carries all the votes in the village *under his girdle*.

Nor are these sons of the cassock, last mentioned, any more rebellious in their capacity than in their inclinations. Their pious and convenient ignorance is a certain pledge for their zeal, and these two are perpetually of a size.

As to the behaviour and practice of these Levitical cubs, it is the easiest task in the world: *Their whole business is to be drunk and orthodox.*

Having now shewn why so many lords and commons are true churchmen, I need say nothing of the rabble, since they are so for the same reason,

son,

son, and therefore it is no wonder the church has such a majority amongst them. The church, if the mob forsake it, is undone.

Hence it is that for good and pious ends I have, as council for the clergy, drawn the following deed of conveyance, which, I do not doubt, will be readily signed and sealed by the parties concerned. The purport of it is to enrich the church-interest with a multitude of persons whom the whigs may well spare.

‘ Whereas there are divers and sundry well-meaning ignorant persons in this land, who call themselves *whigs*, and yet want the necessary marks and qualifications belonging to *that character*, which is maintained by a good understanding, and by a powerful love for truth and liberty, and, in general, by a just sense of things: And whereas the aforesaid good and senseless persons do originally and naturally belong to the class of *true church-men*, whose cause has from the beginning been supported by *number and nonsense*: We therefore whose names are hereunto subscribed, taking into our tender consideration the interest of the clergy, do, as representatives of the whole body of *whigs* in *Great Britain*, by these presents, renounce, release, and forever quit our claim, to all boobies and

‘idiots, who may have run blindly into our  
 ‘party: And we do hereby freely, and of our  
 ‘own meer motion, resign and make over the  
 ‘said fools and naturals unto the high church  
 ‘of *England*, whose proper goods and chat-  
 ‘tles they are, the said church knowing full  
 ‘well how to apply the blindness and stu-  
 ‘pidity of them the said asses to admirable and  
 ‘orthodox ends and purposes. Witness our  
 ‘hands, &c.

*A. B. cum sociis suis.\**

I have but one scruple upon my conscience in relation to this grant of mine in behalf of the church. I doubt it will obstruct *the bill for preventing the growth of peerage*, if ever it should come in again: And, on the contrary, make many new creations necessary to fill up the vacancies it will occasion. But let our superiors look to that. The church in the meanwhile ought to pray fervently for success to such a bill; for, if it pass, I will be bold to prophesy, that fifty years hence the *whole house*, at least a great majority, will be *genuine church-men*; unless the same be first rendered *intirely empty* by a rigorous execution of this my conveyance.

Another traiterous enemy to the church hath been the weather.

When

When that *remarkable phenomenon* appeared about three years since, every one that had *orthodox eyes* saw armies and champions in the air, brandishing their broad swords, and threatening present death and destruction to all fanatics and low church-men ; yet so it shamefully happens, that that caravan of *tory-clouds* has neither brought over the pretender, nor struck any *other* blow on the church's side.

The wind likewise played the truant from the church, and, in spite of the prophecies and prayers of all the parsons and *other* old women in the nation, Sir *George Byng's* fleet was not funk. One would naturally take the sea, by its *noise and roaring*, to be an orthodox person ; but, by its late great civilities to our ships, it seems to have quite deserted the church-interest, and tacked about to the whigs.

I happened to be down in *Essex* about the time when Sir *John Norris* was sent into the *Baltic* to detain the moderate and pious king of *Sweden* from that expedition, from which our church expected *great salvation*, as the reverend Mr. *Trapp* zealously phrased it, and on *Sunday* I went to church. Our parson, after taking his text, and making a flourish or two about the meaning of it, told us, that, though the doom denounced against the ships of

*Tarbisb* and the *ISLES* was an old prophecy, it might probably, nay it did certainly extend much further, and we were encouraged to hope great effects from it, *in this our day. You shall see*, says he, *and I speak it from the mouth of inspiration itself, you shall suddenly see the wonders of the Lord in the deep. Can the Almighty prosper those ships that are the bulwarks of usurpation, commonwealths, and Schism? No, he cannot, he must not, if he be true to his own word, if he has any regard for his own church and people.* His whole sermon was to the like purpose, and he seemed to have strong and *Christian hopes* that our navy would perish. But notwithstanding that he preached and foamed with *wonderful zeal*, and vented great eloquence and spittle; and notwithstanding that he threatened the Lord, if he did not grant a tempest; and the people, if they did not pray for it; yet neither God nor the weather obeyed him, and Sir *John* and his squadron went in safety.

In short, there has not been a blast of wind, or a shower of rain these five years, but what has been drawn, head over heels, into the party and interest of the church. It thundered for the church, and snowed for the church, and froze for the church. And yet the whigs, who  
have

have got all the money in the nation, have so bribed the elements, that they have quite forsok the catholic cause. We had last summer very hot weather, which, in the opinion of all the orthodox, boded nothing less to the nation, than a general famine and pestilence, for the *martyrdom of the blessed martyr*, and the keeping out of the pretender. But these *pestilential friends of the church*, though earnestly wished for, and positively foretold, have not done the church the least service, by laying waste their native country. How often was the king's army to have been frozen up in *Scotland*, during the late rebellion? And most of the parsons in the kingdom had pawned their word and faith upon it. But, in the issue, neither the frost nor the snow helped the church and the Pretender.

In last autumn word was brought to the parson of a certain parish, that such a boy in the village was just then killed with thunder and lightning. *Is he?* says the parson, *It is what I always foretold, that that boy would come to a dismal end, for he went constantly to a fanatic conventicle; and neither I nor his School-master could dissuade him from it.* Ay, but sir, replied the messenger, who brought the doctor these glad tidings, *Gaffer Pitchfork is murdered*



too, with thick same toady clap of thunder, and you do know, sir, he was a main man for the church, and fought bravely for putting up the May-pole. At this the doctor scratched his head, and said, *It is appointed to all men once to die.*

My landlady at *Hartly Row*, who is a good churchwoman, and very great with the parson of the parish, is well assured, that *the late meteor is a visible judgment upon us, for our putting down the convocation*, as she calls it. I hope, when his majesty hears this, he will summon the parsons again, to save us from comets and lightning, and to rebuke the nation once more for infidelity, in not believing in them, and also to convince the bishop of *Banger*, \* by censuring him.

What pity is this, that neither the clouds, nor the sun, nor the moon, nor the stars, ~~nor any thing above them~~, can be brought to favour the cause of the church !

Providence is likewise, I fear, become an enemy to high-church ; for it disappoints her on all occasions.

At a time when her foundations seemed to be laid deep, and her designs ripe for execution, on an unlucky first of *August*, the church's nurse died, and the babe fainted.

All



stant perjury and expectations, without any apparent danger of temporal loss (a consideration always uppermost with them) and yet they were so cautious as only to mutter their hopes privately to all the world.

The same *French* forces, which had so long contended the prize with all *Europe*, had now nothing else to do but break the peace, and please the parsons, and replant tyranny and *Roman* orthodoxy amongst us.

Here was now a pleasing prospect for the church. *Mar* had a large army of *invincible Highlanders*; a formidable invasion from abroad daily threatened us; we had tumults, madness, confusion, and disaffection in every parish in the nation, and in every county a rising was feared and expected; and, in short, things were running into a total dissolution. So much had our *peaceful clergy* done, and so much had they to hope from their own doings. The church was very cock-a-hoop, and held up its head and crowed. By their behaviour and assurance, I dare pronounce that these *pious peace-makers and ambassadors of the meek Jesus* would not have taken a composition of three parts of the church-land for their hopes of the pretender and the whole. They were even sure of their point.

There

There is a parson in *Somersetshire* (to name no more) who from the revolution had raved every *Sunday* with great zeal and devotion against foreigners. He had sworn to king *William*, and hated him, and spread the same hatred through the whole parish, every one of whom he had debauched with drunkenness and disloyalty. Upon his majesty's accession, he likewise swore to him and abused him, renewing with greater virulence than ever his imprecations upon foreigners. In one of his sermons he had this expression: *Suppose the time should come when we shall have a king that does not understand the common prayer, what think ye will become of the poor church?* This excellent Christian, when he thought the invasion and desolation, which he had long wished to his native country, were at hand, began to tell his people, *That there was a wide difference between some foreigners and others, and that as they ought to abhor, and even destroy, such of them as were the open or secret enemies of the church, so it was their duty to honour and entertain, and even to divide their substance with such foreigners, as came to save it.* This was hint enough, and the doctrine was so clear, that a pretty young girl asked her mother, who had as much knowledge as herself, *Whether these brave outlandish men would marry with us poor English folk?*

With such sort of management it is no wonder that the poor orthodox vulgar are worked up into the greatest credulity and rage. I have met with some of them who thought it no sin to murder *Hanoverians*, for that, they said, they were men-eaters. And, when I asked them how they came to know so much of the *Hanoverians*, they answered, *Oh, our parson has told us enough of they!* Nay, some of them believe that his majesty eat up all the children he ever had, except the prince, and they pretend to tell you how his royal highness was saved from the same fate.

To some of the clergy alone appertains the sacred right of doing well by deceiving, and of promoting ruin, ignorance, and war for the prosperity of the church; and such are the men whom the nation pays to propagate truth and morality, and maintain peace.

I will not here pretend to make an exact computation and comparison between the number of the well affected and ill affected parts of the clergy; but I am not at all apprized that I wrong them, if I venture to say, that not one in seven of these conscientious pastors opened his mouth against the late rebellion in the western counties.

In the pulpit they either say nothing of his present majesty, or that which is much worse than

than nothing; whereas in the late reign they were so blasphemously loyal, that they seemed to have forgot Jesus Christ, to preach up the queen.

But I was saying, that at *one juncture*, I mean during the rebellion, the hopes and views of our *genuine clergy* were in a promising posture, and very near fulfilling; and many of them were so discerning as to see the finger of God in the rebellion, and they became sureties every-where for providence, that it would go through with the work which *they* had begun. But providence deserted them, and has never returned since.

And thus Providence refuses to aid, though so often commanded, the interest of perjury and rebellion, though they are both so evidently for the good of the church.

I do not know whether they may not, in their private junto's and cabals, have come to a resolution, that Providence is a schismatic; and the more, because it is plain, that both Providence, and the Author of Providence, are irreclaimable dissenters from the principles and practices of high-church. They seem to be so sensible of this, that they have long since displaced the Almighty, as much as in them lies, from any power or concernment in this

world or the other, having dubbed themselves Gods and forgivers ; and exercising with authority all the great offices of omnipotence.

The bishop of *Bangor*, too, is the occasion of no small terror to the church, and in confederacy with her mortal foes ; marching, as he does, at the head of truth, reason, scripture and sincerity, and the like fanatical fellows, who have the heresy and impudence to espouse an interest diametrically opposite to that of the convocation.

This ill advised bishop is so romantic and froward, as to think, that the clergy ought to depart from several points, which, though they are bloody antagonists to the spirit of the gospel, yet do evidently tend to the glory of the church. His lordship ridiculously believes, that when a man is a good man, though *in this particular* he differs widely from the parsons, yet God will have mercy upon him. But, to silence this perverse writer for ever, let him know that *these clergy* have endeavoured to pluck God's own keys out of his hands, and to hinder him from shewing mercy, or opening paradise, if he would. They like *sine cures* so well, that they have a mind to make the Almighty's government a *sine cure* too. Are not *such priests* brave fellows, who would  
make

make their Maker a minor, and themselves his directors and guardians? When his lordship is informed of this, I hope he will drop the controversy.

The bishop is also grievously deceived in another instance: He is of opinion that the clergy ought to be the propagators and defenders of liberty and the gospel. See here the ignorance of a father of the church! He does not know that Christianity may be at the last gasp, and yet the church in a most flourishing condition.

I could mention many more mistakes of the bishop's; and particularly he is so ill a churchman, as to think there is some force in oaths, and that they who take them should not altogether break them. But as his lordship is out-voted, upon this article, by a vast majority of most orthodox teachers, I take it he deserves no other confutation: Besides, this is a sort of reasoning which he is used to.

There is no doubt a very good reason to be given, why these reverend examples of truth and piety play with oaths, and call upon the tremendous name of God to a lye. They themselves say it is for bread, though some others think it is for drink. However that be,  
it



it is plain, perjury is but a small fault, if any. Now, suppose his majesty, taught by the church, should break his oath, and seize its possessions, I know the parsons are so reasonable a sort of people, that they would never upbraid his majesty for walking in their steps, and being forsworn. But I doubt, his majesty is so much of a king, and a Christian, that he will never be brought to follow his clergy in this path.

Before I have done with this head, I must give the parsons one caution. I beg them, "for the time to come, never to upbraid any body with the practice of occasional conformity; since probably some bitter presbyterian, who does not honour the cloth, may give them to understand, *that it is almost as innocent to take the church-sacrament for a place, as it is to be forsworn for a living.*

The happiness of mankind is moreover a great and powerful antagonist to the church.

Here in *England* we enjoy such a shameful share of wealth and liberty, that it is no wonder our clergy are perpetually grumbling. If we were but so reasonable and orthodox as to part with all our substance and privileges *to them*, it is almost probable, that these our good guides to misery and salvation

tion would grow content and easy; which it is impossible for men of their spirit and pretensions to be, so long as we are so saucy and heterodox as to be rich and free.

In the territories of the church abroad, the priests enjoy the great good fortune of having never a happy layman under their dominion; and having, beside, the power of fire and sword, there is not a single schismatic, nor the appearance of heresy and knowledge amongst them; but church-affairs go on in a blessed course of tyranny, sodomy, and stupidity, without rub or disturbance. Can any one wonder that our zealous clergy are tempted to an imitation of such a pious pattern of *genuine church-power and plenty*, where the bible is locked up, and the laity starve?

The nature of our government and constitution bring also no *small danger to the church*.

In this country the *orthodox clergy* cannot excommunicate and damn a man, but presently the *heterodox law* grants him a replevin. Besides, we have several other bars to the felicity of the *church*: We have a parliament, and we have trade, and, which is worse than all, the convocation cannot do what they please, and the king will not part with his prerogative to prorogue them. So that the law on one side, and the prerogative on the other,  
grind

*grind the poor church between the upper and the nether millstone, as, Mr. Leslie emphatically complains.*

There is one instance particularly, in which the prerogative bears hard upon the church. The parsons, you must know, to prove themselves a well-born people, go for their parentage seventeen hundred years backwards, and father themselves upon the *apostles*. Now not being able to prove this, either by record, or *resemblance*, they have given occasion to some *profane folks* to alledge, that the priests must needs be bastards, *because their parents utterly disown them, and they are kept by the parish*. But they, on the other hand, scorning to part with their *apostolic birth*, have *forged* out a vast chain, long enough to hold ten millions of *foxes*, and this they call the *chain of succession*; one end of which is tied to the *apostles*, and the other to *themselves*; and it reaches from *Jerusalem* to *Lambeth*, taking *Rome* in its way. This is an important, and even *miraculous* chain; for though it has frequently been *broke*, and there are gaps in it seventy years long, yet it has never been *once interrupted* to this day. It is like *Milton's* bridge, built by *Sin* and *Death* over the chaos, *wonderful* and *invisible*. It is pity this cable rope of succession should

should lie thus *incog*, when, in the opinion of *big church*, the whole hierarchy *hangs* by it. It is, therefore, no wonder they maintain it with most *apostolic wrath* and *obstinacy*.

But even here now, in the momentous point of succession, the prerogative breaks in upon the cassock, and the king, who is but a layman, creates bishops, and by this act of his, does, as it were, beget *sons and heirs to the apostles*. This is a sad incroachment upon the privileges of the parsons, who have doubtless, a *divine right to breed each other*. I know they pretend they still chuse their bishops; and on that occasion mock God with prayers, as if they really did. Thus an apothecary's boy, or an old woman, by order of the doctor, administers a clyster; and, if a cure ensues, the boy or the old woman was the physician.

There are many other faults in our laws, in relation to the *church*, of which the *priesthood* have just reason to complain. *Smithfield* is turned into a *meer* market, where bullocks are butchered *instead of heretics*, and the clergy are never again like to be complimented with a *burnt offering* from thence; and a dissenter may now be so saucy as to worship God, and the parson cannot punish him for it; and the laity are suffered to believe, that the revealed will of God is not hid; and there is a dangerous  
opinion

opinion prevailing among us, that *the Almighty will not tumble us into hell for sincerity and well-meaning*: and, to add no more, the clergy have not the government of all things.

The next thing I shall mention, which has administered great grief and danger to the church, is, *the high duty upon French wine and brandy*. This grievance is sufficient to make all the *genuine parsons* in England malecontents. For, though they drink malt liquor in great quantities, and though *that* be of a windy nature, and is a great help to zeal, yet a dram is the *life of orthodoxy*, and claret is *clear wit*, to use their own *waggon* style. I know a parson who drinks nothing but small beer, and he is a whig, as one may easily imagine, and unless he change his liquor, in order to change his principles, he is like to continue a whig till doomsday. So much does the church lose by a *sober son*!

Another cause from which the *genuine churchmen* are in great danger, is a reformation of manners, which would strip them of many pretty liberties, and force upon them the *bitterness of morality*, which is too strong meat for *these babes*. As *orthodoxy* and *lewdness* are often the *lovingest neighbours* in the world, it must needs go to their heart to be parted.

In Popish countries, for example, where the clergy often fall into such *carnal crimes and reputations*,

*lations, as our spotless society of saints here at home do abhor; would it not be a heavy judgment upon a pious priest to be stripped at once of his where and his altar? and then, would not an embargo on taping, in the same countries, have an aspect every bit as terrible towards the church? For there are, beyond sea, such monsters as drunken priests; though my countrymen, who never see such sights here in England, may imagine I talk wildly. And now for an honest tippling priest, who would as freely suffer death as thirst, to be thus reformed out of his bottle, and divorced from his croney barrel, would be downright persecution and a wounding of the church through his sides.*

A reformation is likewise so tyrannical and hard-hearted, as to oblige the clergy to live as if there was really something in religion, beside *farer* and *tithes*; and it expects too that these spiritual militia should be, at least, now and then upon duty, and not live idle above six days in seven, and upon the seventh, not above nineteen hours in four and twenty.

Besides, a reformation would be for reviving the force of scripture laws, which bear wondrous hard upon the clergy. I remember particularly, the third chapter to *Timothy* lays such intolerable injunctions and restraints upon them, as must needs be as far from the liking of the *genuine parsons*, as I am sure they are from their practice; for the aforesaid chapter expects they should

should be no brawlers, nor strikers, nor greedy of filthy lucre, nor given to wine; nor lifted up with pride; but, on the contrary, that they should be blameless, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, and apt to teach; and I know not how many more impossibilities.

A gentleman in this city, whose heart is set upon a reformation of manners, gave me, not long ago, the perusal of his creed, out of which I drew the following dangerous positions, and now I publish them, that the *genuine* clergy may guard against them.

1. He believes that a man may be saved by adhering to *naked truth and plain religion*.

2. That it is not damnable, not to believe what we cannot believe.

3. That Christianity is as good a man as Orthodoxy, *saving the judgment of the clergy*.

4. That it is possible for a pastor to have grace in his heart, though he has never a rose in his hat, and that he may tell truth, and instruct the people, though he be not wrapped up in twenty ells of Holland.

5. That an innocent infant may be saved, without a parson's dropping water upon its face.

6. That a well-disposed person may eat bread, and drink wine, in remembrance of our Saviour's death, without the priest's form of words, which yet *do not change the elements*, which yet are a *proper sacrifice*, which yet is not *flesh and blood*.

7. That

7. That God may possibly pardon a repenting sinner, though the *parson* do not absolutely give his consent, and order him so to do.

8. That a man may venture to understand the *understandable* parts of scripture.

9. That there is such a thing as a scrupulous conscience; *with submission to the parsons.*

10. That a man may keep his oath to King George, and yet not be damned for it; *again saving the opinion and practice of the high church.*

11. That the clergy, as well as others, would be better, if they had fewer faults.

12. That dissenters are our fellow-creatures.

13. That religion is a *rational thing.*

My acquaintance above-mentioned holds all these and more such heretical notions, which, were they tolerated, would bring no small danger to the church. But, I hope, her *genuine sons* will continue their zeal, and defend her against them all.

Among many other causes which I could assign for the danger of the church, I shall mention but two; and these are two *holy days*, the 30th of January, and the 29th of May; a couple of days that send many a pious priest to meet his fate. Then it is that our *orthodox parsons* exert their wrath and eloquence with huge might and success. They demolish the whigs, and then kill themselves with joy and drinking. Cups and carousals succeed to zeal and scold-



scolding, and, many an able-bodied Levite sacrifices his sobriety and his tabernacle, to the health and confusion of the church and low-church-men. They send dissenters to the devil, but go first themselves, to tell him they are coming.

Thus half the *genuine clergy* lay hands upon themselves, and pour their own deaths down their throats. Some of them depart spiced with *right Nantz*, others sowsed in *October*, some pickled in *Florence*, and many steeped in *Oxford-ale*, *Ab these drunken holydays!* (says my witty friend Dr. Byfield) *no body gets by them but Lucifer and the excisemen. They have turned the whole year into an idle jubilee, and the common-prayer-book into an almanac. I hate their superstitious trumpery——It is only the Whore of Babylon in an English vizor, and the Pope in a periwig. I remember the time, when we neither minded surplices nor saints days; and then! drunkenness was sent to the stocks, and whoring to the use of correction. But now! the priests are gone iray, and the people follow them.*

I am acquainted with a *Rosicrucian* in this town, who holds a correspondence with the other world, and in it with *Hugh Peters* particularly, from whom he lately received the following epistle, a copy of which he gave me. As it is the *newest* and best *apology* that ever  
was

was made for drunkenness, I cheerfully publish it, for the peculiar service of my ecclesiastical clients.

To the truly illuminate, and sublimate by the symphony of the spirit of essence, bright above brightness, and blossom of invisible knowledge, Jacob Fitz Behmen, living in the world; Hugh Peters, a visionary elect, wishes perpetuity of permanence.

‘ You tell me that your friend, the doctor,  
‘ drinks and decays apace, and that we ghosts  
‘ may soon expect his company, he being already almost one of us. I am glad of the  
‘ news, and shall be pleased to see him. But  
‘ I cannot with you condemn him for swallowing so much brandy and wine: On the  
‘ contrary, I applaud him, for his artful seasoning of himself with hot liquors for his removal into this warm climate, where, let me tell  
‘ you, it is dog-days all the year.

‘ It was for want of this extreme unction, that  
‘ Julius Cæsar (the soberest tyrant and whore-master in the world) was plagued with the  
‘ dry gripes half a century after his arrival on this side the grave. Alexander the Great, by  
‘ report, was wiser, for it is a tradition here, that his ghost came reeking from a drunken  
‘ feast, like a butterfly preserved in spirit of  
‘ wine.

‘ Many great men, and judges of the earth,  
‘ have tried the same expedient with comfort-

' ble success: But above all other species of  
 ' mortals the reverend the clergy, my *bro-*  
 ' *ther trade*, who understand their interest in  
 ' the *upper world*, the best of all other charac-  
 ' ters or *crafts* whatsoever, are not wanting in  
 ' foresight and sagacity to fortify themselves  
 ' with hot liquors, and *hot sermons*, against  
 ' the influence of this hot region. You know,  
 ' while they are in *your world*, they are great mo-  
 ' nopolizers of fire and brimstone, and when  
 ' they come hither we do not grudge them *their*  
 ' *own commodity*.

' It is from this tribe of men chiefly we have  
 ' an account of what is doing on the *sunny side*  
 ' of the globe; for, being all *professed politi-*  
 ' *cians* and newsmongers, we find them the  
 ' best intelligencers imaginable. Besides, they  
 ' are *constantly coming*, and by that means, we  
 ' never want advices. So that, whenever we  
 ' spy a *black ghost* stalking towards the ferry, we  
 ' all cry out, with one mouth, *a mail from man-*  
 ' *kind*.

' At *all seasons* of the year we have them  
 ' *pretty thick*; but it is incredible what gluts  
 ' of them arrive *a few days* after the 30th of Ja-  
 ' nuary, and the 29th of May. And the reason  
 ' is obvious; for——

Here friend *Hugh* falls into the same obser-  
 vations which I have already made, and shews,  
 beyond

beyond contradiction, how his *brother-trade*, as he calls them, kill themselves with preaching and debauchery, at *these high-church tides*. Nothing so quickly destroys the constitution, and the understanding, as brandy, and tobacco, and zeal.

I have now, I may *modestly boast*, fully proved the danger of the church; and, by assigning the *true causes* of that danger, I am the only advocate she has, who have not *lyed* upon this occasion, seeing all the numerous assertors of her *holy peril*, who went before me, do, in the account they give thereof, *fib most outrageously*; though I, who am not of *their order*, dare by no means say so. *These men* lay all the blame of this matter upon *infidels* and *profane persons*; but I can never join with them in such an unreasonable charge; for I cannot think it at all likely that *the clergy* would wilfully murder *their own mother*, and so be guilty of *manslaughter*.

My next task is to prove, *that the church ought to be in danger*, and this I shall do by shewing, *that she gets by it*.

Pity is a potent passion, and whoever has the art of gaining it, seldom fails to draw our affections along with it. Now, the church having *no other way* of being beloved but to be pitied,

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she must, in order to *that*, appear exceeding miserable and woful.

Misery is often the *greatest*, and sometimes, the *only* merit, which attends persons and things: For proof of this, I never saw a *rogue*, going to be hanged, though ever so *wicked* and *ugly*, but he was first *pitied*, and then *praised*; especially by the women, who have a *strange* bias to *weeping* and *being deceived*.

Hence it proceeded, that, when *the doctor* and *his* high-church were both thought in a *hopeful way* to the gallows, our *orthodox* compassion got the better of our *heretical* reason, and *the champion* merited our mercy, merely by meriting a *halter*.

The church, therefore, if she would be safe, must be always in danger; while she is so, our concern for the *old woman* in distress will throw dust in the eyes of our understanding, and effectually prevent a discovery of *her nakedness* and *wrinkles*.

And now, to conclude, what remains but that the danger of the church, which is grown so necessary to her well-being, be established by a canon, and made the *thirty-tenth article of her faith*, to be believed *on pain of damnation*? In the mean while, let me assume to myself the just glory of having started the design of such an article, by shewing *its reasonableness*.

Lastly,

**A CORDIAL for LOW SPIRITS. 171**

Lastly, *loving reader*, let me acquaint thee in a few words, with my own usefulness and importance, which makes me, indeed, a little proud, but *not a bit vain*.

And in the first place, I have written a matchless defence of *priest-craft*, a task never attempted before. And yet the *masters* and *guardians* of that *noble science* have proved but unthankful clients, and even railed at me, *their apologist*, most unmercifully, and indeed *unanswerably*. But I have always observed, that *orthodoxy has admirable talents for selling of systems*. I am, in particular, beholden to a great *doctor*, famous for paunch and principles, who preached a whole sermon against me, in which he foamed and reviled, beyond a possibility of reply. Lord love him, *if possible*, it is the only way of reasoning he knows.

I have likewise been most *christianly cursed* in many other pulpits, with the same force of bitterness and lungs. Bless me, that my *loving-priestly friends* will not be taught more wit. I had been rallying a sort of men who are very sad fellows, and shameful enemies to conscience, truth, and their country; and presently up start the Lord's ambassadors, and cry, *We are the men, damn the author*. At such odds are they with common sense, and *the mercy of God*!

Secondly, I have convinced several laymen, *that there is another God beside the clergy*, though they had lived long in ignorance as to that point. And I have advice from divers counties in *England*, that when the parsons cock their beavers, and give themselves airs, the country folks cut them down with a *text* out of *parson Alberoni*. When a vicar in *Kent*, the other day, sent his clerk to a sensible clown in the parish, to demand his *Easter-dues* on pain of excommunication, *What*, says *Ralph* to *Sternhold*, *I warrant ye, you come ambassador now from the Lord's receiver general, don't you?* And the chief inhabitants of a parish in *Surry* have sent a letter to their doctor here in town, begging him, *if his belly be not too full*, to come down and preach among them, and not to affront them any longer with *his journeyman*.

Thirdly, I have conferred reputation upon six and fifty authors, every one of whom was graciously pleased to write *my book* after it was in print, and they are heartily welcome. All their *other* works, when once they got into the corner of a bookseller's shop, grew rickety for want of handling, and so could never travel over the counter, till a grocer's apprentice carried away the *helpless* creatures in a *charitable wheel-barrow*. Seven of these worthy gentlemen, and one of them a grave counsellor in the

the *temple*, confessed to me they were the authors of the *apology*, but modestly begged me not to discover them. I must, however, thank the bountiful Mr. P—— H——, for his uncommon goodness in adopting my poor *fatherless child*, as soon as it was brought forth into the public. I fear it is more than ever I shall be able to do for *one of his*.

I am told that one of these fathers of my *pamphlet* threatens to break squares with the court, because they have not yet rewarded him with a thousand pounds a year. But, I doubt, this ingenious pilferer of *my parts* and *performance* is too hasty. Why, *even I*, who have written full four half sheets, for the good of myself and my country, am not yet lord high admiral, nor have so much as the proffer of a *blue garter*; which so discontents me, that I will write no more these three days; but then I will set about my *apology for great men*, in which I will prove them to be the civillest creatures breathing to *their own public persons*. Reader, *Adieu, for a fortnight*.

P. S. I acknowledge the former part of this book has been laid at the door of a gentleman or two, whose names do me honour. I wish they may be as well pleased on this occasion as I am.



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Cardinal *ALBERONI*'s

# LETTER

TO A

Right Reverend Father in God,

FOR THE

SUPPORT of the CHURCH,

By Introducing

IGNORANCE and SUPERSTITION.

In ANSWER to a

LETTER of that PRELATE's wherein  
he desires to be made a CARDINAL.

First Printed in the YEAR 1719.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

DEPARTMENT OF THE HISTORY OF ARTS

RECEIVED

1961

Cardinal *ALBERONI*'s  
LETTER, &c.

*Most Reverend and Holy Brother;*

**N**otwithstanding the great multiplicity of business I am now engaged in, which calls for more than ordinary application ; yet the esteem and affection I have for you, obliges me to answer the overtures you were pleased to make to the king my master, by his excellency the *Marquis de Montesone*. I cannot but thank your lordship for congratulating me on the promotion my master has been pleased to honour me with, and for the service you are so good as to think I shall do the church in it. Truly, my lord, as I have the interests of it entirely at heart, I have used my utmost endeavours to procure your advancement to the highest stations in it. And I have the happiness to tell you, that the pope is so well satisfied with your conduct,

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that

278 *A CORDEAL for LOW SPIRITS.*

that he designs you very shortly for the conclave : But, in his fatherly goodness, beseeches you to continue a little longer your dutiful resolutions of serving him in the post you are now in. As I am sensible no one has deserved the hat better than yourself, you may be assured, that your merit will have the success you desire. But the necessity of our affairs requires your attendance a little longer in that station, where you are so great an ornament and support. The obstinacy of your king has embarrassed me not a little, and defeated those glorious designs I had laid for the sovereignty of the church. His measures are so destructive of our grandeur, and so prejudicial to the power we have so justly exercised over the consciences of the laity, that I have no other prospect, but of the growth of heresy, and particularly of that damnable one, of mens thinking for themselves. How secure soever we might think ourselves in those times when churchmen were ambassadors, and all the honours of the state designed for some patriots of the clergy ; yet those happy days are past, and I can foresee nothing now but the ruin of the church, since you and our other friends are unemployed, and none but mean servile spirited persons advanced, that have not souls formed for the pleasure

sure of commanding. Pray, my Lord, what is a clergyman that is not full of the dignity of his order? Men are to be borne down with the notion of our imaginary preheminance: If our characters are examined, our reputation must sink; but, while the laity admire implicitly the lowest of our order, how much must they adore the greatest? But I need not mention this to your lordship, who are sufficiently sensible of the excellency of your profession, and comfort yourself with all that distance and majesty that becomes a spiritual prince. But give me leave, my lord, to say, your resolution of opposing your king, in all his measures, is full of piety and catholic obedience; it is agreeable to the conduct of your illustrious predecessors, and highly beneficial to the church, whose interest is always inconsistent with a gentle and virtuous reign, and whose happiness can never be reconciled with any thing but arbitrary and unlimited power. Upon this view, I think I can never enough commend your lordship's zeal, and your passionate defence of our ecclesiastical prerogatives, and that you so well justify persecution under the notion of wholesome severities, and Christian compulsion: Though, at the same time I cannot but grieve, that you should be obliged to make

use of such a subterfuge of words, and that your sword cannot establish what reason contradicts. But since truth at last will prevail, and whatever specious arguments may be used by us, under the pretence of guarding established religion, a most useful word, and what we can never depart from but to the destruction of our power; let me only remind your lordship of some maxims which I think extremely conducive to our interest, and what must at last, if rightly pursued, beat down all opposition.

First then, my Lord, you are sensible, by all the steps you have taken, and the whole tenor of your conduct, that nothing so much preserves the power we have usurped, as the encouragement of an implicit dependence of the laity on the clergy; to inculcate that nothing destroys faith so much as reason; and, whatever contradiction it may be in sense, yet in religion it is an established rule, that the better any man sees, the more occasion he has for a guide, and that he walks most safe and secure that is most blind, especially if he has the good fortune to be led by another, full as blind as himself. This is so fundamental a truth, that I do not so much wonder, that your pious and learned convocation has so warmly censured those contrary doctrines that  
have

have been lately advanced ; I am surprized that every clergyman has not opposed them with all the vehemence so great a cause deserves : For notwithstanding the great reason of your antagonist, and his virtuous and unblemished life, yet the whole body of the clergy, separated as well as united, should have risen up in this common concern ; and whatever they want in learning, sense, or ingenuity, should have been made up by malice and detraction. Not that I think I ought to accuse any of those that have wrote against him upon this head ; but methinks enough has not been done, considering the importance of the subject, and the many and excellent examples they have had in all times of the church : For I need not tell you of the fatal consequences of these opinions, you know them too well, not to oppose them with a proper warmth ; but still let me tell you, if a timely stop be not put to the growth of this accursed heresy, no clergyman shall hereafter dare to be vicious, ignorant, and lewd, but he shall immediately lose the respect that is due to his order. And what a deplorable state Christianity must then be in, we can only consider with horror and consternation. But if, my lord, men will be so abandoned and obstinate, as not to renounce their reason, let me then recommend to your lordship's pious thoughts



thoughts something that may obviate the ill effects of such notions, and what may at last effectually root out this heresy. Nothing, my lord, can re-instate us in our old privileges, but a sufficient competency for the clergy, independent of the laity. Let the church purchase every advowson, and then they may promote those persons that will best serve their interest. What sway parish-priests naturally have, is too plain to be insisted on. Men's fears always make them slaves ; and a skilful application to the passions, especially in matters of importance, gives such an authority that is not easy to be resisted. Let then every considerable benefice be appropriated ; let the universities make use of the avarice of the laity to enslave them, and let no price deter them : Then, when the church is in possession of the means to aggrandize itself, the execution of their power will and must follow of course ; then barbarity and superstition shall again flourish ; and then dominion, riches, and veneration, that are due to men of such exalted characters, shall be established. And, to convince you how necessary such a provision is, let me observe, that no sooner were the revenues of the church sacrilegiously plundered, but our authority dwindled. The policy and  
management:

management of superstition could no longer be carried on, when the end of that superstition was destroyed; and the reformation was only made effectual, by stopping up the avenues of our wealth, and consequently by making the clergy dependent for subsistence. And here I cannot but consider, with incredible satisfaction, the wisdom of our ecclesiastical scheme: Every thing bears such a proportion, so fitted for the prosperity and glory of the church, and to keep mankind our slaves by a continued state of poverty and oppression, that I am amazed, when I think how it was possible such an united force could be broke, founded on ignorance and superstition, and made more strong by the advantage we gained by their combination. But as this scheme was entirely built on worldly prudence; as the glory and riches of the church were only considered, without any regard to virtue, probity, or true religion, some were righteous zealors that had no passions to gratify, and no ambition but to do good (as there are some of the same principles now) began to be offended at the vicious lives of the clergy, and inveighed against the usurpation we had exercised so fully over the understandings of mankind: And as our authority subsisted only upon im-  
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the same sort of men would deceive them again, having the same interest. That I am amazed they do not use the utmost artifice, call up all their cunning, and, if it is possible, counterfeit being honest men for once, to gain the end they propose. But, though I cannot but grieve at this uncommon carelessness, yet it is some pleasure to me, to find your legislature concurring in my sentiments, in giving the universities a power of nominating to the benefices of catholic patrons : Were such a power in other hands, it might be fatal to us ; but there it is safely lodged, and contributory to every purpose we can desire. You do well to advance every thing that tends to the support of our persuasion, and oppose every thing that may unite the differences of those that dissent from the communion of the church ; wisely you inveigh against the plausibleness of their perverseness and obstinacy, and deprive them of the common and natural birthright of subjects. It was this first raised the church, and the same methods will prevail again. And if it should, then (let us enjoy the lovely thought) shall confession, by its happy disarming itself, lay each family at our feet, while persecution shall march majestic with its crossier, and beat down all opposers. Then shall heresy, though  
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cloathed with every virtue, be thrown into the fire, and excommunication, mounted and attended like death, mow down whole nations; then may we satiate our revenge, indulge our desire, and enjoy the honours, riches, and veneration of mankind without any merit whatsoever; in short, have the full and necessary effect of an establishment, that every mouth should be stopped, or cry out, *Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.*

I am, with the greatest respect,

Yours, &c.



**T H E**



THE  
C H A R A C T E R  
O F A N

Independent *WHIG*.

First printed in the YEAR 1719.



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**I**Ndependency at court is a heresy in politics, never pardoned, *much less* countenanced *there*. Our *whig*, therefore, adheres to his principles, and has no pretensions to a place.

—*Caret invidenda sobrius aula*. He scorns all implicit faith in the state, as well as the church. The authority of names is nothing to him; he judges all men by their actions and behaviour, and hates a knave of his own party, as much as he despises a fool of another. He consents not that any man, or body of men, shall do what they please. He claims a right of examining all public measures, and, if they deserve it, of censuring them. As he never saw much power possessed without some abuse, he takes upon him to watch those that have it; and to acquit or expose them, according as they apply it, to the good of their country, or their own crooked purposes.

As to religion, our whig is a protestant; not because he was born so, according to the  
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canting absurdity in vogue ; or bred so, since in infancy religion is acquired like a lesson in grammar, purely by the help of memory ; and therefore children learn it, whether it be good or bad, as they do language from their nurse, or their parents. But he is a protestant because his judgment and his eyes inform him, that the principles of that faith are warranted by the bible, and consistent with our civil liberties ; and he thinks every system which is not so, to be forgery and imposture, however dignified or distinguished.

In consequence of this he has a great respect for the office of a clergyman ; and for his person, if he deserves it. But, if his doctrine or practice disgraces his order, our whig owns his contempt for the man. The clergy are the best or the worst of men ; and, as the first cannot be too much honoured, the latter cannot be too much despised. It is of good example, and there is equal reason in it. Why should virtue and villany fare alike ? Names do not change qualities, nor habits men. Where is the equity of rewards and punishments, and consequently the force of all laws, human and divine, if vile men must be revered, and the good can be no more ?

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It is but reasonable, that all men should be judged by their actions, and revered, or scorned, according to the goodness or wickedness of their lives, without any regard had to their titles or garbs; which signify no more than a breath of wind, or the bark of a tree.

There is not a greater insult upon the understandings of mankind, than for priests to challenge respect from their habit, when they have forfeited it by their behaviour. There is no sanctity in garments. A rose in a man's hat does not enlarge his piety. Grace is not conveyed by a piece of lawn, or chastity by the wearing of a girdle. A black gown has neither more sense, nor better manners, than a black cloak. Nor is a black cloak more edifying than a fustian frock; no more than a cambric bib is an antidote against lewdness, or an atonement for it.

This consecrating of garments, and deriving veneration from a suit of cloaths, is barefaced priestcraft. It is teaching the practice of idolatry to a gown and cassock. If a little senseless pedant, who is a living contradiction to virtue and breeding, can but whip into orders, and cover himself with crape, the first thing he does is to overlook and affront all mankind, and then demand their reverence.

His surplice is his citadel, and he claims the impunity of an ambassador for being graceless and saucy.

As to the common defence which is made for their immoralities ; namely, That they are flesh and blood as well as other men, it is a wretched piece of sophistry. If they are not better than others, how are they fit to mend others ? And, if they cannot leave their captivity to sin and Satan, how come they to claim so near an alliance with heaven ? If they have God's commission in their pockets, and yet will engage in another service, what name and treatment do they deserve ? We know the fate of rebels and deserters in a lay government. Can men succeed to the apostles with the qualities and behaviour of apostates ? How will they reconcile a holy calling to infamous lives ? A clergyman, who is as bad as an ill layman, is consequently worse. In that character there is no medium between doing good and doing mischief ; since the influence of example is stronger than that of precept. As the doctrine and practice of piety make up the profession of a clergyman ; he who deserts truth and holiness, deserts his profession, and ought to be no longer owned for a teacher of religion, but shunned and hated, as a foe to religion and mankind.

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The clergy have made such a terrible and inhuman use of power, in all ages and countries where they could come at it, that our whig is for keeping their nails always pared, and their wings clipped, in this particular. Reason and liberty are the two greatest gifts and blessings which God has given us, and yet where-ever a priestly authority prevails, they must either fly or suffer. They are enemies to the craft, and must expect no toleration. Darkness and chains are the surest pillars of the sacerdotal empire, and it cannot stand without them.

Let us remember archbishop *Laud*, who having got the regal power out of a weak prince's hands, into his own, set his face against truth, property, conscience, and liberty, and trampled them all under foot for several years together. A spirit of cruelty and dominion governed this man, and he governed king and people. His heart was so impiously bent upon destroying conscience and the constitution, and exalting the priesthood, that, when any man was oppressed in a paltry, tyrannical, bishop's court, the judges in *Westminster-hall* durst not obey their oaths, and the law, by relieving him; but were forced to be forsworn to avoid the anger of his *Grace*. This upstart, ple-

beian priest, hoped to see the time, when never a *Jack gentleman* in England would dare to stand before a parson with his hat on. A fine scene truly ! to see a gentleman of fortune and breeding stand stooping, and bare-headed, to a small, ill-nurtured vicar ; who had, perhaps, formerly cleaned his shoes, and lived upon the crumbs that came from his table !

Let us look back into former ages, and round *Europe* at this day, and see whether abject slavery in the people is not, and always has been, the certain consequence of power in the priests. It cannot be denied.

I thank God, I know no power our clergy have but that of suing for tithes, and the like privileges, which they receive from the law alone. Those ecclesiastics who claim, by divine right, any other power, than that of exhortation, talk nonsense and belie the new testament. To the law, and the people who made that law, they owe their bread ; and to set up for an independency in opposition to both, and pretend to a mastership over them, is arrogant, dangerous, and ought to be penal. I am told it is capital, here in *England*, for a protestant to go over to the *Romish* religion ; and yet shall a priest dare publicly, from the press and the pulpit, to claim, and to justify,

justify, the most essential and most formidable principles of popery ; and thereby declare his reconciliation with that bloody religion, which is supported by frauds, bondage, and human slaughter : And shall he for all this go unquestioned ? This, in my opinion, is to contend with impunity for usurpation and rebellion.

Some would seem to qualify these pretensions, by saying, that they claim a power, but not an independent power. Which seems, in this case, a sort of a contradiction. For if it is a power, and yet depends upon another power, then is it, properly speaking, a jurisdiction of subjection, and an authority under an authority. And, while the law and the hierarchy are thus owned to be master and man, we desire no more.

Our whig is for an unlimited toleration of all dissenters whatsoever, who own the laws and our civil form of government. As to their religious opinions, they are justified in them by sincerity ; and, even where that is wanting, God alone is able to judge, and alone has a right to punish. In matters of conscience, he who does his best does well, though he is mistaken ; here all men must determine for themselves : He who follows another in this

case, without inquiry, is man's votary, and not God's. As we have a right to enquire into the truth of any religion, we have also a right to leave it, if it appears false : But if it stands the test of examination, and appears true, then is our adherence to it founded upon our own judgment, and not upon authority. If there be no right of inquiry, where is the use of persuasion, which implies doubt ? Or of reading the scripture, which implies understanding ? We believe not a thing till we think it true ; and cannot believe it, if we think it false : And to punish men for having eyes, or having none, is equally diabolical and tyrannical.

Men disagree daily about matters which are subject to the examination of sense ; and is it likely that we can be all of a mind about things which are invisible and disputable ? doctors themselves are daily cavilling ; every one contradicts another, and yet all are in the right, and each demands our faith to his particular invention. We cannot follow all ; and among equal authorities pray which is the best ? For the same reason that we cannot believe every one of them, we need believe none of them, upon their own word.

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Our whig goes farther, and thinks that all protestants ought to be equally employed in a state to which they are equally well affected. The magistrate has nothing to do with speculations that purely concern another life : Nor is it of any consequence to him, whether his subjects have a greater fondness for a cloak or a surplice : Their affections to the political power, and their capacity to serve it, are only to be consulted and encouraged. Provided a man loves liberty and his country, what is it to the commonwealth whether he sings his prayers, or says them ? Or whether he thinks a *bishop*, or a *presbyter* the nearer relation to St. Paul ?

These two words (*bishop* and *presbyter*) signify, in scripture, one and the same thing, and are equally used to signify one and the same officer. Our great church-men, indeed, have been pleased to think the bible mistaken in this matter, and to be in the right themselves. They have made episcopacy and presbytery as opposite to each other, as paradise and purgatory ; and have frequently gone to cutting of throats to prove their point.

I must confess a diocese, and a seat in the house of Lords, are unanswerable reasons for the divine right of episcopacy. There is no



way of confuting them. You may as well argue with a *Guiney* merchant against the selling of slaves.

Besides, a lordly creature, who never preaches (miracles having long ago ceased) and keeps a great table, and equipage, and enjoys all the great and good things of this life, carries in all these marks such an evidence of his being *St. Paul's* right heir, in a lineal descent, that I wonder any body *dare* doubt it.

However, as the plainest things in faith are made doubtful among divines, who have an admirable knack at starting difficulties, where no body else would expect them ; our whig is of opinion, that the teacher, who walks on foot, has as good a title to dispute about religion, and maintain his own, as the right reverend doctor, who supports his orthodoxy with a coach and six ; and should be as much encouraged by the civil magistrate, if his principles and behaviour square with the constitution. Is a man a better neighbour, or subject, for nodding to a table, at the upper end of a chancel, or for pronouncing his faith towards the east ? Our church-men may find good cause to enjoin these *necessary things*, which the scripture had forgot, and enjoy great benefit and obedience from the practice of them ; but, in  
temporal

temporal matters, I am not fully convinced that they make a man's head wiser, or his heart honest.

I cannot here omit taking notice of an old fallacious cry, which has long rung in our ears; namely, that of *No bishop, no king*. This solid argument was used, with royal success, by king James the first, when he sat deputy for the clergy, and disputed with the puritans, at the conference at *Hampton-Court*. It was, indeed, the best he could use; however he strengthened, and embellished it, with several imperial oaths, which he swore on that occasion, to the utter confusion of his antagonists, and the great triumph of the *genuine clergy* and the archbishop; who bestowed the Holy Ghost upon his majesty, for his zeal and swearing on the church's side.

This stupid *saying* has formerly filled our prisons with dissenters, and chased many of them to *America*; and by this means weakened the kingdom and the protestant religion, to keep up good neighbourhood between the bishops and the prince. But they were neither the bishops, nor their creatures, that restored king Charles the second, but a set of true blue presbyterians, who were rewarded for it with gaols, fines, and *silent sabbaths*.

\*Loyalty is not confined to the mitre. Bishops have given more disturbance, and occasioned more distresses to prince and people, than any other sort of men upon earth. This I can prove. Our own bishops, for near an hundred years before the revolution, were in every scheme for promoting tyranny and bondage. On the other hand, our dissenters were ever eminent opposers of arbitrary power, and always lived peaceably under those princes who used them like subjects. If they took up arms when they were oppressed, church-men have done the same, and often without that cause.

Had it not been for dissenters, I question whether we should now have had either this constitution, this king, or this religion. It is well known that a great majority of our church-men have got *claims* and *principles* utterly irreconcilable to either. The most mischievous tenets of popery are adopted and maintained, and the ground, upon which our security and succession stand, is boldly undermined. It is dreadful and incredible what a reprobate spirit reigns amongst the high clergy.

The convocation have fallen fiercely upon those who have fallen upon popery and Jacobitism.

bitism. And what a popish, impious and rebellious spirit reigns at *Oxford*, they themselves save me the trouble of declaring. Disaffection is promoted; open and black perjury is justified; and it is held lawful to defy almighty vengeance for a morsel of bread. A man's conscience is tried by an oath, and he that can swallow any, has none.

But it is not enough to shipwreck their souls for their livings, nor to keep this hellish corruption at home. As they practise so they teach, and the spreading of their own guilt, and the making others as bad as themselves (if laymen can be so) is made the duty of their functions, and the business of their lives. Can Antichrist do worse? And are these men, who walk in the paths of atheism and perdition, fit to lead others to holiness and eternal life?

One of the greatest men of the last age told king WILLIAM, that the universities, if they continued upon the present foot, would destroy him, or the nation, or some of his successors. And they have ever since been endeavouring to make good his words. That prince was so thoroughly apprized of the dangerous genius and principles of these two bodies of men, that he intended a regulation, but, as it is said, was prevented by the pernicious advice of the

late duke of S——, who had at that time gained the king's confidence, and was at the head of the whigs, but was betraying both, and making a party with the tories, as afterwards plainly enough appeared.

How far, and how fast, these seminaries have since then corrupted and inflamed the people, every body knows, and the nation feels. Had it not been for them, we should have lighter taxes, and fewer soldiers.

Upon the coming in of his present majesty, we thought we had a right to expect such measures of government as would not only secure us for the time being, but prevent a relapse into the dangers out of which Providence had just plucked us by the death of ———.\* It is certain that the king brought along with him, and still preserves a disposition to do us all the good which we can propose or desire.

All those whigs therefore who had no secret ends to serve by dark dealings with the tories, nor private fortunes to raise by neglecting or perplexing the public, insisted upon the punishment of those who had bargained away the nation, and upon a visitation of the universities, and both were undertaken and promised. But, why neither was done, they who are concerned can best tell, if telling was proper.

\* Queen Anne.

proper. In the mean time they cannot blame us for guessing.

I am only sorry that the great and surprizing tenderness, which some have shewn for the high clergy, has not been able to produce one instance of loyalty or moderation. Perhaps the priesthood will accept of no alliance without a total alteration ; and that the adoption of two or three eminent persons of their faction into partnership with some other eminent persons, pretending to be of a different faction, will not do.

However that be, the universities seem to dread no such thing as a visitation. Whether they have assurances given them, or whether they take their conjectures from our other measures for reformation, I cannot say.

The same spirit which leads us to lessen our taxes and clear the public, and to enlarge the bottom of liberty and the protestant faith by unyoking of dissenters, will carry us also to remove the corruption of our seminaries, and their disaffected spawn in too many parishes. But, when such a spirit will arise, we are not able to foretel. We have been already long deluded with many prophecies and promises of that kind, which, as positive as they were, and as probable as they appeared, have  
never

never been fulfilled. We have been even tired with hoping and believing, and now despair and infidelity have succeeded, and are like to last as long as their causes last.

Our liberties, in the mean time, lie exceeding precarious. The high clergy have still the same engines to play against them, which in time past have gone very near utterly to overturn them. Their divine right is preserved as the apple of their eye; a blind belief in *them* is inculcated with all their might; and a blind obedience to any royal idol, who will purchase their flattery by worshipping them, is at all times the burden of their harangues. As to this last article, we are, I thank God, very safe at present; but the *present* will not be always.

I could here wonder, for two or three pages, at the marvellous strength of nonsense, and the pitiful weakness of human minds, who by the persuasion of falshood and contradiction can grow zealous for their own bonds and wretchedness. And yet is it not so in most countries, where people are miserable by the advice of their priests to please a tyrant?

There are bounds set to the power of our princes, by the same laws which made them princes. An *English* king is limited as well, though not so much as a *Dutch* stadtholder, and  
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for the same reason. The difference of names alters not the case. Would a *Dutch* priest dare, in that free country, to tell the people, that they ought to be slaves to an officer of their own making, and yet go without a whipping, or dismission, or something still worse? Is it high treason to assert that a king has no title, and ought to be deposed? And is it no crime to argue and maintain that the people are slaves, and their lives and property at the mercy of one whom they created, and whose duty it is, to defend those lives and that property?

It is true, too many of the high clergy never once practise this doctrine themselves, and never encourage it in others but for profitable purposes. But such is their want of shame, that they never quit it, and yet never observe it. They preach against rebellion, and practise rebellion, just as they are pleased, or out of humour.

Our whig fees with pain and fear the dangerous condition of our debts and taxes. They are a heavy and melancholy load upon the nation, and will be so, till it pleases God to raise up proper hands to relieve us, and who will set about it, while it is yet practicable, before more new wars have puzzled and increased  
our



our accounts beyond a possibility of clearing them. They are at present a canker in the hearts of many people, and create numerous foes, whom we in vain strive to terrify or reconcile, if we do not lessen their burdens.

From hence the enemies of our peace and liberty take pretence, and find ample materials, for sowing disaffection; and we in vain confront, or contradict them. If we are asked, when we shall have done *fighting* and *taxing*? we either know not what to answer, or if we name a time for their ending, at least their beginning to end, they will not take our word.

With the cure of public evils, disaffection will be cured also. All men, therefore, who are friends to the king, or the nation, will labour this happiness; will avoid entering into all wars which are not absolutely necessary to the public security, and will take every opportunity to end those which are so, upon honourable terms: And by this test let them be tried: We have before our eyes a pregnant instance in *France* (and, I doubt, a dangerous one too for its neighbours) where an almost universal disaffection is changed into as universal a love to the administration, upon the appearance of its acting for the public good.

We have so good a prince, that, let our debts be ever so high and embarrassed, we have

no reason to fear a sponge, or a standing army, to clear the kingdom of its mortgages, though it could be done no other way: And in his goodness is our greatest hope. There are many good subjects who terrify themselves with such imaginations, which, indeed, are truly terrible, were they well grounded. But his majesty's virtue and the importunate call of the nation will, no doubt, be too hard, at last, for any ill management or worse designs of any, who may find their account in dabbling in public misfortunes; and who, whilst they think they tread upon a worm, may rouse a lion.

Let us remember the sad fate of *Sweden* and *Denmark*. They ran into debts by running into wars, and the court took the advantage of their necessities to seize their liberties. They grew slaves by growing insolvent. Under his majesty's reign we fear no such thing; and, I hope, we shall scorn to suffer it under any other. Besides, as we are told a remedy is intended, I doubt not but we shall see it the ensuing sessions, when our burdens will be eased, and our difficulties removed. There is a noble fund of wealth in the nation, and we are yet redeemable, if proper persons offer to undertake it.

Our

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Our whig is a declared enemy to all wars, if they are not absolutely necessary. Though he honours a soldier as he does a physician, yet he prays to God that he may never have occasion for either. Arbitrary courts abroad, are, for the most part, composed of officers of the army; and our whig has so great a weakness about him, that he cannot, without very uneasy images, see a glare of scarlet where he could least wish it. He would not have the men of the sword grow familiar to the eyes of the people, nor become the equipage of our *British* kings.

Military men are a proper equipage for those princes who are fathers of their people against their will; who lay the foundations of justice in fear and blood, and use the sword as the most natural means to support those foundations. In countries that are enslaved, the sword is the civil magistrate: That it is not ours is almost a wonder, considering the disposition in many of our former princes to armies. Our kings of the *Norman* race were perpetually raising *English* forces for the preservation of their *French* dominions, and engaging us in eternal wars on that score. The army that enslaved *Sweden* was raised for the defence and enlargement of their *German* Provinces,

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Provinces, which were always a burden to that kingdom, and, at length, its utter ruin.

We do not at present see in *Great Britain* many more forces than are necessary to the civil list; and I hope in proper time there will not be one more. They furnish another topic for clamour to the disaffected, who raise rebellions, and, when they have given occasion for more soldiers and more taxes, cry out, *Oppression! oppression!* Sure these people are mad; they dread the power of the court, and yet are every day helping it to more.

If a right use had been made of the late rebellion,\* we might have had now no new ones to fear. But, for whatever reasons I will not pretend to guess, the surgeons of that time were so exceeding gentle in their operations, that they left a core in the wound. Without doubt the motives for clemency were irresistible.

I must here acquit his majesty from the imputation of any fondness for a standing army. I dare say the proposal to disband our forces, after the rebellion, met with no delay from him; and I have been told that he lately refused a very importunate request to increase his troops. I must also do justice to the gentlemen of the army, for having so well

well done their duty. If our high clergy were but equally faithful to their oaths, and equally friends to their country, we should have seen neither new troops nor rebellions. The army has saved us from the high church. But, for all that I have said, I should be sorry to see the people of *England* either love or fear a standing force: To do either infers danger.

I doubt not but, when his majesty shall think fit to disband more troops, his ministry will act with alacrity and without art: Because the dismissing of some common soldiers *only*, after much expectation from one party, and more noise from another, will be subject to unkind interpretations.

I hope the power of quartering soldiers is always impartially executed, and that no consideration is of any force on this occasion, but that of the public security, and the loyalty or disloyalty of the towns. I am persuaded we shall never hereafter see a regiment removed out of a town avowedly disaffected, into another which does not want dragoons to keep it quiet, purely because the commanding officer has it in his eye to stand candidate for that town, if ever there should be another occasion; as I am informed has been practised in former reigns.

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Our whig was well enough pleased with our attack upon the *Spanish* fleet. It became us, as sovereigns of the sea, to pull down betimes the rising maritime power of *Spain*, and thereby secure our dignity and trade. But whether the blow was well pursued, I am not a proper judge. I shall only say, for the honour of *Great Britain*, that we are certainly the best *allies* in the whole world, and have the most civil way of fighting our neighbours battles for them.

It is a very uncommon, though perhaps a necessary kindness, to employ at an immense expence the royal navy of *England*, as transports for the emperor's troops, and to cruise about a country at such a distance from us, and for so long a time together. I doubt not but there will be very good reasons given for it, if the parliament shall ever think fit to call for them.

I must here do our superiors the justice to own, that they take effectual and speedy methods to finish the *Spanish* war. For notwithstanding that we had a great fleet in the *Straits*, and another in the *Baltic*, a third was dispatched with much resolution and expence to frighten the cardinal into pacific measures, and to conquer *Vigo*, though we were threatened

threatened at the same time at home with a dreadful invasion from the late duke of *Ormond*. But no domestic danger can hinder a brave people from exerting their martial genius, and making a heroic figure abroad.

In this *Vigo* expedition it is said we have had wonderful success. For, not to mention that the town would infallibly have been plundered, had not the inhabitants gutted their houses when they run away, it is certain that we have vanquished several great guns and brought them away captives. It is also credibly reported that we have taken from the enemy some of their fishing tackle.

Our whig allows great men to have their private failings and passions. It cannot be otherwise ; and they are unreasonable and ill bred who upbraid them with it. But in the name of God, let them not indulge them at the expence of the nation. Let them not postpone the care of the public welfare to mind their own. Let them not out of personal piques give up whig boroughs into Jacobite hands. Let them not, for the sake of a mistress or a crony, disable worthy men, and patronise worthless. Let them not run into mad dangers, and then endeavour to alter and confound the constitution for their personal security  
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from those dangers. Let them not out of self-ends; and for secret (perhaps pernicious) jobs, be tampering and juggling with the nation's enemies, and deserting and betraying that party which is eminent for its love of liberty, to those who are its stigmatized enemies.

The duke of *Buckingham*, chief minister to the blessed martyr, involved his country in two wars at a time; when the *exchequer* was empty, with the two great neighbouring kingdoms, because he was balked in his lustful designs upon a *French* lady and a *Spanish*. And the duke of *Lauderdale*, because he was disoblged by the kirk, a member of which he once was, ruled his native kingdom of *Scotland*, by a great army and sanguinary laws, all the reign of king *Charles* the second.

I cannot forbear digressing a little here, to shew the wretched state of *Scotland* at that time. High church, which by force and cruelty had expelled presbytery, enjoyed then a rare time of revelling in the blood of schismatics. The orthodox priests became every where informers against the preaching and praying of nonconformists, and the soldiers, to please the priests, became their butchers. And the poor religious people, when caught  
provoking



provoking the clergy by devotion, were unmercifully put to death without law, jury, or record. So were those men rewarded, who had received and crowned that king, when his life was sought by those who took away his father's.

But to return. I can prove it, that the whole legislative power of this nation has been in former reigns engaged in gratifying a diabolical passion of one man; and our security and liberties have been sacrificed to humour, or a mistress. When a minister makes haste to be rich, the service of his country must either lie still, or go on no faster than he gets by it. A whole people was finely employed, when they were labouring for the pocket of one who was betraying them at the same time. Most men are willing to allow a great officer, if he would but carefully cook the nation's money, to lick his own fingers, and thrive upon his employment. But he who exhausts the nation for his own use, is a public highwayman, and the whole kingdom should be his prosecutors. I do not believe, that there are any such practices at present — I pray God defend us from them for the future. That such things may be safely done, is evident from hence, that of all the overgrown leeches

leeches of the last reigns (for I suppose there have been none in this) not one has been yet drained of his ill got wealth.

Gaming is so dreadful a vice, especially in those who are any way intrusted with our Liberties; that I cannot pass over it in silence.

A man who will venture his estate will venture his country. He who is mad enough to commit his all to the chance of a dye, is like to prove but a faithless guardian of the public, in which he has perhaps no longer any stake. It is a jest, and something worse in a man who flings away his fortune this way, to pretend any regard for the good of mankind. His actions give his words the lye. He sacrifices his own happiness, and that of his family and posterity, to a sharper or an amusement, and by doing it shews that he is utterly destitute of common prudence and natural affection; and, on the contrary, an encourager and example of the most destructive corruption; and after all this ridiculously talks of his zeal for his country, which consists in good sense and virtue joined to a tenderness for one's fellow-creatures. When he has wantonly reduced himself to a morsel of bread, he will be easily persuaded to forsake his wretchedness and accept of a bribe. Who

would trust their property with one who cannot keep his own? The same vicious imbecillity of mind which makes a man a fool to himself, will make him a knave to other people. So that this wicked proneness to play, which is only the impious art of undoing and being undone, cuts off every man who is possessed with it, from all pretence either to honesty or capacity. I doubt *England* has paid dear for such extravagancies. A law-maker and a gamester, is a character big with absurdity and danger. I wish that in every member of either house, gaming were attended with expulsion and degradation; and, in every officer civil or military, with the loss of his place. A law enjoining this penalty would be effectual, and no other can. We see it goes on, upon the present foot, in spite of satire and acts of parliament. I would have this execrable corruption meet with no encouragement. The frowns of the court would certainly put a check to it, but then there must not be an office kept on purpose for it.

Our whig has an equal aversion to masquerades. They are a market for maidenheads and adultery; a dangerous luxury opposite to virtue and liberty. There was something like them formerly in the reigns of our worst

worst princes, by the name of *masks*. As the present reign resembles these in nothing else, so neither would I have it resemble them in this. They were revived, or rather introduced, after the *French way* by a *foreign ambassador*, whose only errand then in *England* could be but to corrupt and enslave us, and for that end this mad and indecent diversion was practised and exhibited by him as a popular engine to catch loose minds, or to make them so, with great success. What good purpose they can serve now, I would be glad to know? — The mischief of them is manifest both to the public, and private persons; a handle is taken from them to traduce some great characters, whom I would have always revered; and they are visibly an opportunity and invitation to lewdness.

If people will have amusements, let them have warrantable and decent ones; as to masquerades, they are so much the school of vice, that, excepting a law to declare it innocent and safe, I question whether human invention can contrive a more successful method of propagating it.

The practice of the commonalty is formed upon the example of the great, and what the latter *do* the former think they *may do*. If a

city wife has it in her head, against her husband's inclinations, to take the *pleasures* of the masquerade, she has but to tell him that my lady dutchess of —— is to be there (no doubt upon the same errand) and the poor, sober, saving, man must submit, and be *content* to be in the *class* of his *bettors*.

From this source of prostitution I fear many a worthy man takes to his arms a tainted and vicious wife, and finds in her a melancholy reason both for himself and his posterity to curse and detest masquerades, and all those that encouraged them. I was in hopes they were at an end. I heard that the theatre in the *Hay-Market* was to be used intirely another way, and that our understandings were only to be affronted this winter in that place with *Italian* quavers and *Cremona* fiddles; for which I was not sorry, since the leaving of debauchery, for the sake of nonsense, is still some degree of reformation. Let us make much of it — Though I would fain hope it is not the only one we are like to see.

Some weak people would insinuate, as if those in high place promoted these infamous amusements as a means to divert busy heads from diving into their actions — But this must be a malicious and senseless slander, since all  
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the measures of these gentlemen, are so clear and honourable that they themselves need fear no scrutiny.

Having neither wife nor daughter of my own, I am anxious only for the ease and reputation of those that have. So that I have no motive but the love of public virtue to say what I have said upon this theme.

I could wish that those reverend gentlemen, whose business and duty it more properly is, to expose this scene of iniquity, had prevented me. If our *Lent* preachers have omitted it, I can ascribe it to nothing but forgetfulness, or *their good breeding*. And yet where is there a more necessary, where a more affecting subject? Here, O ye bishops, priests and deacons, shew the *zeal* with which you abound; here shew *danger*, not to the church indeed, but *danger* to virtue, *danger* to Christianity! Here alarm your people's ears, here rouse their passions; and cease combating *harmless notions* and *dry ideas*, till you have utterly defeated glaring vice and exorbitant debauchery.

Our whig is an irreconcilable enemy to the selling of places, or conferring them partially. *To be given to the worthiest*, is the public voice upon this occasion. They are the national

rewards for well deserving, or a capacity of deserving well ; and it is evident injustice, and a kind of robbery, to dispose of them upon other motives. If the candidate has merit, the tacit consent of the people is already on his side ; and why should he give money for that which is his due ? If he has not merit, why should he have the recompence of it ? *Freely you have received, freely give,* is a precept which has reason as well as inspiration to recommend and enforce it.

Most or all of the great places are given gratis to those who, as to their fortunes, do not want them, and no cause can be assigned but avarice and want of human compassion why any of the small ones should be sold, when they are sought for the most part as the means of life and subsistence.

He that can bargain away a little post, would from the same vile principle dispose of a great kingdom upon valuable considerations ; and sooner, as the price must be greater, and consequently the motives stronger.

Every guilt of this kind, when detected, should be branded with incapacity and a public mark of infamy. It is making traffic of one's country : It is plundering worth of its birthright ; and it has a degree of malignity  
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and vileness in it, which ought to be narrowly watched and severely punished. It is true this villany cannot be always detected openly ; but by observing mens circumstances we may guess whether they spend or lay up more than their honest income ; and, if they do, we may take them for criminals, and either oblige them to account for these exceedings, or disable them from hurting us any more in the same station.

In king *Charles* the second's time, a *French* woman or two, and a tribe of other hungry courtiers who came with him from beyond sea, did by the connivance of the ministry, and in confederacy with them, make a fair penny of the birthright of *Britons*. The parliament of that time, who should have been the guardians and watchmen of the public, were themselves engaged in a trade of corruption, and spoke, or held their tongues, as they were paid. In that long parliament there was a majority of pensioners, who overlooked these dark dealings, and many more, particularly that of the arbitrary increase of the prince's guards, which was the first approach towards a standing army. These guards have never been reduced since. This shews the dreadful danger of precedents.



But neither ought places to be bestowed out of private and personal regards. I have heard of the time, when a mean obscure Jacobite was put into a fine post for life, purely for a piece of work which deserved no more than an attorney's fee. Besides, the public had no concern in it. When, at the same time, very many deserving whigs remained unprovided for, and even neglected, though they had done their country more service than some who had much better luck.

There were a sort of men amongst us many years since, who, being of great consequence to themselves, had adopted the craft of churchmen, and very solemnly assured us that the nation was always in eminent danger, when they were not in place. But as soon as the steerage was committed to them, and they were got into a way of thriving, all was safe, and yet nothing altered. It was of no moment how other posts were conferred, provided *they* enjoyed the *greatest*, and the power of giving the *smallest*. If a pretender was worth money, or had done a *private* job, no matter for his parts and principles; *worthlessness* and *Jacobitism* were no bars to preferment; nay, the *tories* were invited to accept of very good places and welcome, provided they aimed not at the *highest* of  
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*all.* But, for the whigs of the private and inferior class, they were at liberty to do what good they pleased to their country and to mankind, without the least pretensions to the friendship of the *great*: On the contrary, they were told they very arrogantly disobliged them, and marred their schemes by their officious behaviour.

I am persuaded it is otherwise now, and that in due time we shall see the *bishop of Bangor*\* preferred suitably to his great merit. I hope it is not inconsistent with any schemes. I am sure the interests of truth and liberty are nearly concerned in it. For my part, I should not wonder if both houses of parliament addressed his majesty to give his lordship the best bishopric in *England*, as he is the best defender of the liberties of *England*.

I hope it is not true what I am told, namely, That the bishop has not only met with hard usage and disappointment, but even hard names, from some people, for his keeping up a spirit which hindered the adoption of some true sons of the church into certain schemes.

*Let me alone and I will let you alone*, is no longer the language of children at play. A much wiser sort of people have taken it up, and it appears to be the first article of a certain *Bargain*,

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gain,

gain, which all last winter we were put in hopes of.

If such people could have their will, the seminaries and their missionaries might go on to scatter their poison, and level their doctrines against the fundamental security of this nation ; to strike at the root of our peace ; to over-bear the most glaring truths with bold and dangerous falsehoods, and to have it in their power to make us miserable bondmen, whenever they have a fair opportunity. Then not a stroke must be struck that may displease or disappoint them ; not a corruption be removed that they are fond of ; not a clergyman rewarded, nor any body else, who has writ in defence of liberty, and made them angry.

But Almighty God has been so merciful to this poor nation, as to bless us with a ministry, who, scorning all mean transactions, will also scorn to enter into any measures of union and confederacy with the high clergy, till the whole body of them have given us *demonstrative proofs* of their attachment to our *present settlement and civil rights* ; but will, on the contrary, enable the dissenters, in the mean-time, to defend us and themselves against any future attempts to disturb and enslave us.

While his majesty reigns, let him have what counsellors he will, our liberties will  
- be

be secure. His very person and countenance shew him to be a virtuous, wise, and beneficent prince, and every action of his life confirms it. But will he live for ever? And can we forget our many struggles with the high clergy for the preservation of our liberty? Are not these men, whom we set up and maintain, for ever endeavouring to pull us down, and to make a prey of our property, and slaves of our persons? Do they not claim our lands for their possessions, and us for their vassals? Have we not been forced to wage war with our own mercenaries?

May we not therefore expect, during his majesty's reign, security against the time to come? Have we not been promised it? And will any body dare to affirm that he refuses it? No, no. I wish others were as ready to ask as he will be to comply. His first and chief care, the nation's happiness, is concerned in it; and the nation's principal care, the security of his person and family, is also concerned in it. And they who oppose or neglect it, oppose and neglect both.

The dissenters have undeniably proved themselves excellent subjects and *Englishmen*; and it will always be their interest to do so, while they have that protection and encouragement,

which God, and nature, and our constitution allow them. They aim at no independent power. They have no pretensions upon the lands and liberties of *England*. They have to a man kept their oaths to the government, and opposed the rebellion.\* They are a sober and industrious people, and promoters of morality and trade, two great props of liberty. And the highest objection against them is, That they will not kneel down to a priest, nor worship a piece of crape. Yet they still stand where they did, and are like to stand; for it seems there are many asseverations and oaths gone forth against them, *That the dissenters shall rise no higher.*

It is fit the dissenters should know that they deserve, in every respect, the best usage the nation can give them; and the honest part of the nation, to do it justice, is not to blame if they want it.

Every government stands by confiding in those that love it. The present ministry owe their being so to their principles of liberty, and their adherence to the succession. And is it not equally reasonable that the dissenters, who have the same plea, should possess in a proper degree the same favour? And yet have they any other reward than two or three meer negatives?

\* The rebellion 1715.

negatives ? They contributed largely to save the nation, and *therefore they are not persecuted.* Exceeding kind and bountiful !

Their zeal and industry, to say nothing of their expences, in chusing protestant members for the present parliament, will, I do not doubt, be powerful motives with grateful men to relieve these their friends and benefactors from the fetters of tests which were intended against papists. And the remarkable spirit and alacrity which they shewed in quelling the late rebellion, though at the danger of penalties and prosecutions, was likewise a loud demand upon those who could take their thoughts off themselves, and turn them to the public interest, to distinguish with qualifications and rewards such a numerous body of well affected men.

That such a public-spirited design could not have been carried through, will hardly be believed. Projects of a very different and inferior nature have been attended with surprising success. And not one bill, or scheme, that had the least face of public good, has miscarried. No ; we have been triumphant in our undertakings in the house of commons : In-  
somuch that it is hard to determine which is more remarkable, the zeal of that house for the  
case

ease and interest of the public, or its commendable faith in the ministry.

A certain project indeed was very justly, and very fortunately for *Great Britain*, received by all *disinterested persons* with a general abhorrence. What must some men have done, when nothing can screen them but the altering and overturning of foundations?

But to return, and put the behaviour of high church in balance with that of the dissenters. The corrupt clergy were through all *England* pushing at our settlement with all their might and malice. Some of them indeed were wary and silent, but their good-will was never the less. So true is it, that *they who are not for us, are against us*. Even in their neutrality they were forsworn. Thus the ambassadors of peace and truth, and the great advocates for non-resistance, became the trumpeters of war, and the patrons of perjury and rebellion.

If the dissenters knew what bargains are driven, and with what contempt they are spoken of, and what a mortal antipathy there is in some people against giving them any substantial advantages, they would not be so very free in drinking certain healths, which are now, for good causes, omitted by their truest patrons in town.

town. But I am told they themselves begin to be pretty well cured of their wonted fondness that way. God knows, they have sufficient reason. Mr. *Walpole* was once their great favourite : They see how he served them. Have they found others much kinder ? I wish that even their professed *plenipo's*, who lose nothing by being at the head of their affairs, do not now and then drop their zeal for *separation*, in consideration of a *bank* bill, or a pretty income. It is certain they go every length ; whether consistently with their commission, let their principals judge.

There has been lately a motion made in the *Irish* parliament, in favour of protestant dissenters of that kingdom. I will not suppose they are beholden for this favour to the author of the letter to the archbishop of *Canterbury* ; but of this I dare be positive, That if some people have half as much zeal for passing such a bill in *Ireland*, as they had, and, I am told, still have, for passing another in *England*, it will not hereafter miscarry.

*P. S.* In the second part of this character will be considered the affair of a northern war.



1770-1771

1772-1773

1774-1775

1776-1777

1778-1779

1780-1781

1782-1783

1784-1785

1786-1787

1788-1789

1790-1791

1792-1793

1794-1795

1796-1797

1798-1799

1800-1801

1802-1803

1804-1805

# CONSIDERATIONS

Offered upon the Approaching

## P E A C E,

And upon the Importance of

## G I B R A L T A R,

TO THE

## BRITISH EMPIRE,

BEING THE

Second Part of the INDEPENDENT  
WHIG.

First Printed in the YEAR 1720.



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## P R E F A C E.\*

*THE former part of the Independent Whig appeared abroad about the time the peerage bill made its exit in the house of commons: What were the secret motives for that bill, or what hopeful ends were to have been served by it, I do not pretend to explain, nor indeed, for the ease of my own mind, do I care to guess; because it is a case of conscience with me, and a standing maxim, to speak no ill of the deceased: I shall therefore only say with Mr. Dryden, De mortuis nil nisi bonum; Peace be with the manes of the bill.*

I

\* One design of this collection, and the principal design at first, being to save from oblivion Mr. Gordon's tracts; this tract was inserted in the two former editions, and for that reason is here also inserted, although it has no relation to the subject of these volumes.

*I am willing to think there was no intention to engage us in a northern war, in order to serve purposes directly in the teeth of the act of settlement of the crown; or, if there was any such, I am persuaded it is now laid aside, and therefore I have also laid aside my purpose of considering the consequence of such a war, as I promised in my last.*

*The age of killing monsters is long since past and gone, and there lives now neither a Hercules nor a Theseus, to subdue Hydra's and dragons; and I should be sorry to see my countrymen revive those ages of knight errantry, and arrive to such a degree of Quixotism, as to range over the world in quest of adventures, and to become the righters of wrongs, and redressers of injuries, through the whole universe.*

*It would indeed be a greater piece of romantic gallantry, than any of those fabulous heroes ever undertook, for a nation living at so great a distance, to throw away an advantageous trade, and engage in an impracticable war, against a power*  
*guarda*

*guarded two thirds of the year with ice and snow, fortified with impregnable towns, which will be covered with numerous armies, and noways to be attacked but with troops marching from distant countries; without magazines, without forage, and without pay, unless WE supply them; and this too without any prospect of advantage accruing to ourselves, but only to serve the interests of another state, and to preserve a country of no concern to us; the whole value of which, if every foot of ground in it was to be sold, would probably not pay the charge and losses of one year's war.*

*As this is too wild a thought to enter into the mind of any Englishman, so I conceive it unnecessary at present to say any more of it; and therefore I have in this second part considered a question which is more the object of our present hopes and fears, viz. What would be the consequence of delivering up Gibraltar upon any consideration whatsoever?*

*I design to continue this paper weekly, in a half-sheet, which will first appear on Wednesday, the 20th day of this month,*

*in which I shall meddle with politics only occasionally, my principal intention being to expose the malignity and danger of certain principles, which prevail too much, and, I wish I could not say, are too little discouraged.*

*I hope in this undertaking I shall be suffered to build up with the same impunity with which others are suffered to pull down.*

*I own there are methods, which, if practised, would prove much more effectual than mine, and root out that disease which I can only resist. In the mean time it shall be my care to shew the necessity of some such methods, by shewing the danger we are in, while we want them. When doctrines are avowedly spread, that strike at the peace and liberty of mankind, it is the undoubted right, and duty of every man, to guard himself and others against them; and it is as much the duty of governors to preserve their subjects from the contagion of such destructive principles, as from force and invasions.*

*The*

*The felicity of the people is the end of magistrates; and all arts and practices that lessen that felicity, call for their correction and cure. Now I defy the wit of man to reconcile the happiness of the world to many of our high-flying tenets; on the contrary, where-ever they prevail, I will undertake to shew, That the severest misery, even brutish ignorance, abject slavery, poverty, and wickedness, do also prevail. I never looked upon an armed host to be half so terrible as an army of aspiring ecclesiastics. The former may be repulsed by strength and bravery, which signify nothing against the latter, who make your own heart conspire against you, by filling it with false terrors. Dominion is the word, servitude the duty, and damnation the penalty.*

*Till therefore our superiors shall be at leisure to put a final stop to the growth of those principles that insatuate the multitude, and undermine our constitution, I, who am so unfashionable a man as to have more concern for the public, than consideration for myself, stand up an advocate for the rights*



of mankind, to expose those claims that contradict reason and the gospel, and bring contempt upon the clergy.

I confess this subject has been largely discussed by several hands, who are equal to the undertaking, and made truth triumph over falsehood. Foremost in the list (or in any other that could be made on this occasion) stands the bishop of Bangor,\* a champion for truth, and a sore adversary to all that have been her's. His enemies have confessed their impotence and defeat in their recourse to invention and calumny ; - and have attacked his reasoning, and his reputation, with equal ill fortune and malice. Notwithstanding which, they have gone on, and still go on, and neither modesty, remorse, shame, nor the reflection upon their own repeated oaths and subscriptions, can deter them from spreading their poison every day, in every place, and upon every occasion. So that they make it necessary to repeat the antidote, otherwise they will call silence conviction, and interpret a contempt of  
of

\* Dr. Hoadly.

*of them and their wild performances, to be an acknowledgment of their wild principles.*

*I am far from pretending to equal, much less mend, what his Lordship has done. But my design is to start new topics, strike out new traëts, and throw the same subject into new lights ; in doing which, I shall frequently use a freedom, and manner of stile not common, perhaps not permitted to men in holy orders.*

*I hope to give the dispute a new turn, and, instead of a long train of consequential arguments, to reduce it to a few self-evident propositions, which I shall endeavour occasionally to embellish with agreeable incidents : The reverend, right reverend, or most reverend doctor, shall wear a fool's cap if he deserves it, though it happens to be a cardinal's : Besides, many will read a half-sheet who will not read a volume.*

*In this great undertaking I hope to have aid from some better hands, and, as the subject is now pretty well understood, I expect, and shall be ready to receive any casual*

VOL. I.

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assist-

*assistance that may be sent me, reserving to myself the liberty of altering (if it require alteration) and adapting it to my own design, of which I must be allowed to be the properest judge. Whoever therefore would correspond with me, may direct to the Independent Whig, at Mr. Roberts's the publisher in Warwick-lane.*

*As to the propagation and success of the weekly paper abovementioned, I can do no more than bestow upon it my chief labour and study; and, for other helps and support, it must rely on those who like it.*

*I hope no one will think me so foolish as to expect encouragement from those who ought to give it, and, as I do not pretend to bear the charge of printing such a paper myself, so the continuance of it must depend upon the encouragement it receives from abroad.*

## CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

AS the dismissal of Cardinal *Alberoni* from the court and councils of the king of *Spain*, and the hopes of an approaching peace, engage the thoughts and wishes of every man in *England*, who has any Love for his country, or laments the present state of our debts and taxes; so I esteem it not only the right, but the duty of every honest man, to offer to his superiors such considerations as he conceives may render the peace advantageous, and make us some recompence for the profusion of wealth it has cost the nation, at a time too when we were loaded with so many Millions of debt.

It will be a service also to the present ministry, by wiping off any malicious charge, if any such there be, of their having run into an unadvised and foolish war. If the war was necessary (without which it is inexcusable, notwithstanding the great and surprizing success which we have had in it) no doubt the conditions of peace will be suitable, and demon-

strate, that, without a war, we could not have had them. What we gain by the peace will justify the expences of the war; and we shall have new advantages of trade, and new fortresses and securities to defend those advantages. If we have not possession given us of some ports in the *West-Indies*, the island of *Majorca* ought at least to be added, for the support of *Port-Mahon*, and a competent tract of land ought to be annexed to *Gibraltar*, for the convenience and maintenance of that garrison, as is usual in like cases, and ought to have been done at first. At present they have not a foot of ground about it, either for gardens or pasture, but are cooped up within their stone walls, and left to make the best of their inclosed rock.

Without such conditions and securities all treaties signify nothing, and may, and probably will be broken, as soon as made. Here we can expect no help from allies and guaranties, who will always emulate, and privately conspire against the great naval power, and growing trade of *England*, which is the envy and terror of the world.

I would indeed be glad to know what advantages, or even performance of articles, *England* has ever received from her good allies?

It

It is true they have often done us the favour to accept of our help, when they wanted it; and I am told, some of them have threatened to accept it no more, unless we gave it them upon their own terms. But, pray how has the favour been returned to us? What has the emperor done for us, in recompence for all we have done, and are still doing for him? Unless in the help he gave us last year against the Pretender and his madam. Or what assistance have the *Dutch* afforded us in this expensive, and, as we are told, necessary war? Have they not eat the bread of quietness and security, while we have been running into perils and battles for them and all *Europe*? They have lain still, easing their country of public burthens, whilst we have been increasing ours; they have grown rich by the trade which we have lost, and, it is said, have even supplied our enemies with the materials of war to fight against us. And yet it is certain that they are as much (if not more) interested in the balance of *Europe* than we are, as they are nearer the danger, and have not seas to guard them. As to the balance of power in the north, they are much more concerned than we, not only as their trade thither is vastly greater than ours, but as they have no other

source of naval stores; whereas very little wit and honesty would supply us with all we want from our own plantations. Whilst we have been wasting our strength, and our substance, and losing our traffic, they have lain still, and continue to lie still, accepting, and returning compliments from, and to the courts of *Spain* and of the *Czar*, and are just ready to receive all the advantages of the *Russian* trade (which at the revolution they were in full possession of) whenever we shall be mad or foolish enough to throw it away. And what assistance these our kind allies gave us in the first rebellion against his present majesty, and in the late terrible *Spanish* invasion, we shall be better informed, when the accounts relating to that affair are fully stated and balanced.

Sure we shall not be always the *cullies* of *Britain*! Our allies must and will make us some amends at last, for all we have done for them; and they have now an opportunity of doing it by getting for us some of those advantages which they have received from our friendship.

It was an old observation of *Philip de Comines*, concerning us *Englishmen*, That we have ever lost by our heads what we have gained by our hands, and have always given up by treaty what we had won by the sword. The reason which  
he

he gives for this is a very good one. He says, *That all our great men were in pension to the Kings of France.* Monsieur de Witt does perhaps mean something like this, when he says, *That our court has been always the most thievish court in Europe.* However, I do not find but that whatever bargains our ministers made for, or rather of, their country, they generally made very good ones themselves, at least to the best of their skill. *Dunkirk* was not delivered for nothing, nor, I dare say, the last peace made without the contrivers finding their own account in it, whatever their country suffered.

But these things are passed and gone, and God has now sent us a ministry who will mend all those faults which they were the first to condemn. The interest of the public is their interest. They have no secret purposes to serve by dark and shameful treaties. They have no new revolutions to bring about; nor can they disgust their own party, by acting freely and boldly for the good of their country, which is not the case of the heads of another party. In fine, they have no desperate game to play, to defend them from the effects of desperate measures, nor have they, like the others, been trepanned and outwitted by *France*,



nor have ungenerous advantages been taken of their credulity, when they had engaged themselves and their country beyond retreat.

We may therefore well expect that our present peace-makers will, by the advantages which they procure for us, reproach the neglect, ignorance, and treachery of the last. There is nothing that the most sanguine imagination can form, which we may not hope at the ensuing treaty, from the singular part which we have taken in this war. We struck the first blow, and have ever since pursued it with great ardor and expence. We have beaten and destroyed the enemies fleets, insomuch that the poor remains of their great naval strength can, at present, do no more than skulk in their ports, and hide themselves in corners. We have procured noble advantages, and even kingdoms to our allies. Add to this, that we entered single into the strife and the danger. The regent indeed moved to our aid a good while after, and the *Dutch* not at all, though, as has been before observed, more than equally engaged by all the ties and motives which could engage us, at least by all those which we have yet avowed.

How absurd therefore is it for any one to surmise or fear, that we should receive the conditions

ditions which we ought to give, purchase a reconciliation at the price of all our victories, and buy a peace, when we may command it?

It is an undeniable instance of the innocence of our great men, and of our great contempt of the poor efforts of their enemies malice, that they took not the least notice of a pamphlet published last year with a pompous title; it was called, *The king of France's declaration of war, &c.* which directly undertakes, in pages the 29th and 34th, to procure from the king of *England* the Restitution of *Gibraltar* to *Spain*.

They knew very well that so wild a calumny could make no impression upon any judicious man, and they laughed at the simplicity and malice of others, and gave them leave to play with their own folly: they knew very well that a fortress conquered by the fleets and armies, by the blood and treasure of *England*, and solemnly yielded up by treaty made with *England*, became part of the *English* dominions, and subject to the legislative power of *England*, and could not be disannexed but by act of parliament; and consequently, any agreement to deliver up such a fort to an enemy, is high treason within the statute of the 25th of *Edward* the Third; and to

give it to any one else ; is one of those high treasons reserved by that act for the judgment of parliament.

They 'knew too that no pocket agreement is of any force in *England* ; that we are bound by no treaties but what are solemnly entered upon record ; and every one might satisfy himself that there was no such there.

However, as the bare mentioning of such a thing, though without the least ground, has thunderstruck many honest, though timorous men, I shall endeavour to undeceive them, by shewing, it is impossible that any virtuous and wise ministry, as we all know ours are, can ever hereafter fall into any measures so fatal to their country ; and this I shall do, by shewing the advantage and importance of that port to the sovereignty of the seas.

The town of *Gibraltar* is built upon a rock which reaches a league into the sea, and was formerly called one of the *pillars*, or the *ne plus ultra* of *Hercules*. It is joined to *Spain* by a small neck of land, which, being narrow and plain, may be easily cut through and separated from the continent, so as to form the whole into an island ; and it is undoubtedly true, that a mole may be made at a moderate expence, capable of holding thirty large men of war.

It

It lies within a few leagues of *Tangier*, in *Africa*, and commands the mouth of the *straights*. It sees all ships that sail from the *Mediterranean* to the ocean, and from the ocean thither, and consequently makes it impracticable for any other nation to trade there without our leave, but by the protection of such fleets and convoys as will make any trade unprofitable; at the same time it protects our own traffic, and furnishes storehouses either for war or commerce, and a convenient place of refreshment to our ships in their voyages to and from *Africa*, *Italy*, the *Levant*, and sometimes the *East* and *West-Indies*.

It gives us the means of carrying on a private and advantageous commerce with *Spain*, notwithstanding all the prohibitions they can make, or precautions they can use. It lies at hand to intercept their *East* and *West-India* fleets with the spoil and riches of both worlds: it separates and divides *Spain* from itself, and hinders all communication by sea from the different parts of their dominions, and consequently must keep them in a perpetual dependance, and put them under a necessity to court our friendship, as well as fear our enmity: it gives us an opportunity to pry into all their measures, observe all their motions, and, without the most stupid remissness on our parts, renders it impracticable for

them to form any projects, or carry on any expeditions against us or our allies without our having due notice.

It destroys any attempts to naval power in *France*, which can never be formidable at sea, whilst *Gibraltar* remains in our hands. It hinders the communication between their ports and squadrons in the ocean and the *Mediterranean*: it makes it impossible for them to supply their Southern harbours with naval stores either for building or repairing of fleets; of which they were so sensible last war, that, as soon as Sir *George Rook* had possessed himself of it, they saw themselves under a necessity to lay aside their usual caution, and dare him in open battle, and not meeting the success they hoped for, the very same year, to the unspeakable prejudice of their other affairs, besieged it in form, and lost a *French* and *Spanish* army before it, and never afterwards appeared with a fleet upon the seas again during the whole war, but suffered their great ships to moulder and rot in their harbours, for want of the means to fit them out again.

It will give us reputation and figure in those seas, which are always rewarded with power and riches. It will oblige all nations who trade in the *Mediterranean*, or have empire there,

there, to court our friendship, and keep measures with us. It will awe even the courts of *Rome* and *Constantinople*, and make them afraid to disturb or provoke us. It will intimidate the piratical states, who, when they see vengeance so near at hand, will not dare to disturb *our* trade, whilst they are destroying that of all others. These advantages are immense, and will give us all the carriage trade of the *Mediterranean*, whose merchants must make use of our ships, when they find it not safe to venture in any other.

But we are told, the keeping it is a great charge to us. Strange and surprising instance of our *new* frugality, and good husbandry ! That we, who for thirty years together have rioted in millions, and, untill heaven blessed us with the present ministry, never minded what we gave, nor to whom ; we, who drained the *Exchequer*, and mortgaged the nation, should now, from a principle of saving, sacrifice the sole fruit of all our expences to prevent a charge, which is but equal to that of a few useless pensions ! Thank heaven, from lavishing millions, we are grown thrifty in pounds, shillings and pence.

But

But how comes it to pass that this was not thought on before? We have been at a prodigious expence in supplying it with garrisons, with military stores, with provisions, and in defending it against a vigorous siege: all which might have been saved, and without doubt very many advantages, and a round sum (besides the contractors licking their own fingers) might have been stipulated for the nation, if the least hint had been given that it was to be disposed of.

However, I own good husbandry never comes too late, and I hope it will go a little further, and that we shall contract the public expences of all kinds, cut off and retrench unnecessary offices, salaries and pensions, pay off, or lessen the public engagements, and rescue the people from the oppressions of their rigorous debts and payments, which have near exhausted the vitals of the nation, and, without a speedy remedy, will soon bring it into an incurable consumption.

It is alledged that *Port-Mahon* will answer all the purposes of *Gibraltar*, and therefore there can be no use in keeping them both. The contrary to which must be evident to any one who but looks into the map; for the island *Minorca* lies many hundred miles further up towards the  
gulf

gulf of *Lyons*, and, in truth, out of the road of all ships trading to *Sicily*, the *Adriatic*, the *Levant*, or *Africa*. It is situated at such a distance from *France* and *Spain*, that the greatest fleets can escape unobserved, unless we keep perpetually before their ports to watch and pursue them, which is exceeding dangerous, if not impracticable in those seas. We shall be out of the way of all intelligence, and, if we should by chance have it, in all likelihood shall be too late to take advantage of it; besides, I am told, there are but few winds with which ships can get in or out of *Port-Mahon*, and, when they are once there, the passage is so narrow that a very small squadron can keep the greatest from sailing out.

But I think nothing is plainer, than that it will be exceeding difficult, if not impossible, to keep the island of *Minorca*, without the possession of *Gibraltar*, at least it will be more expensive to us than both are now; especially if *France* and *Spain* should join again; which event, I think, we ought to keep always in view, for then *Gibraltar* will be the only resource we have to carry on any trade in the *Mediterranean*, and to prevent the union of the *French* and *Spanish* fleets with themselves or each other.



All the objections (and many more) which I have before made, against the facility of a communication of the different ports of *France* and *Spain* with one another, will be stronger against us; for they have others near to *Gibraltar*, where fleets may lie safe, and have a chance to escape us, by catching at favourable opportunities, and the advantage of winds; whereas we must run all hazards, and trust to our strength alone, without any harbour to retreat to, in case of storms or other accidents.

What means have we of sending naval stores and recruits to our garrisons, and often provisions for them, without a port to protect us during a thousand leagues sailing? *Portugal* will not be suffered to receive or relieve us, and then we must run the gantlet by single ships, with scarce a chance to escape, or send convoys upon the smallest occasions, capable of fighting the united *French* and *Spanish* power; which will be attended with such difficulties as must be allowed unanswerable arguments in the mouths of a corrupt ministry to sell that too, when a fair chapman appears.

But it is not only my own opinion, but that of much better judges, that these two important posts might be kept with little charge to *England*, even without balancing the  
the

the advantages we receive by them: Methinks it should be worth the thoughts and leisure of a *British* parliament to ask a few questions concerning them, (*viz.*) Upon what foundation they stand? What becomes of their revenues? Whether applied to the benefit of their governors, or to the public? What protection the people there meet with, and what civil government is established amongst them, and how the military interferes with it? I doubt not but these questions will be answered to satisfaction: and the directors of our affairs, when the public occasions will give them leave to open their schemes, have proposals ready to lay before our representatives, which will make those towns, and the island belonging to one of them, as useful to the public as they have been hitherto to their governors, and some others. I am persuaded, if they were made free ports, where all nations might find encouragement and security, they would soon grow so rich and powerful, as in a great measure to pay for their own protection. *Gibraltar* lies much more fortunately for trade than *Leghorn*, which stands out of the way, and in a corner; and yet, I am told, the single advantage of a free port renders that town one of the greatest articles in the grand duke's revenue.

This is the circumstance, these the advantages of our keeping the possession of *Gibraltar*.

Our

Our enemies, and our allies too, know them, and, I doubt, dread them; and, I thank God, the nation knows them; and that we could have had no tolerable success in the last or present war without this town; therefore I cannot suspect that so wise and honest a ministry will take any such step without the advice of parliament.

We ought not to be surprized if the nations of *Europe* and *Africa* should wish it in hands less potent at sea, and who would consequently enjoy it more harmlessly to its neighbours: it must be undoubtedly terrible to any people who would be our rivals in trade or naval power, or indeed to any state that aspires to empire, which can never be accomplished without fleets as well as armies.

But sure we are not fallen into such contempt with our enemies, our neighbours, or our allies, nor can they have so mean an opinion of our sense and discernment, and the integrity of our statesmen, as but to hint such a thing to them.

If we part with *Gibraltar*, to what purpose have we made war? To what purpose bestowed great sums, and gained great victories? Have we beat the enemy, and forced them to beg peace, and yet must bribe them to accept of it? Have we conquered, and shall they give terms,  
and

and get towns by losing battles? Or, if we do not part with *Gibraltar* for the sake of peace, pray what consideration are we to receive for the sake of *Gibraltar*? Sure we do not make war only for our allies, and leave our allies to make peace for us; and peace and war are not both made at our costs and charges.

We have given no jealousy or offence to our allies, in applying any part of our force to the *West Indies*, or in seizing and planting countries there, as the *French* have done, but have acted a faithful, expensive, and hazardous part for our allies; and, while our ships of war have been employed for them, our merchant ships have fallen by scores into the hands of pirates, for want of sufficient convoys. Our whole *Guiney* trade has been lost this year by that means, there being, as I am told, not one man of war to spare, from the service of the confederates, to defend it. Our trade, in every other branch of it, suffers not a little from this fidelity of ours to our foreign friends. I say nothing of the present state of our manufactures, and of our poor: it is too mournful and too manifest.

Has any *English* ministry ever presumed to propose to the King, to deliver up the dutchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*, in order to procure a peace in the North; to settle the so much desired

desired balance of power there, and to prevent the charge to *England* of sending out annual fleets at a very great expence? And yet, it is said, his majesty, before the last treaty with *Sweden*, pretended no title to those countries, but a mortgage from a prince, who had no other himself than conquest. And dares any one propose to a *British* King the delivering up, to a baffled and subdued enemy, the most important place in the world to the trade and naval empire of *England*, the key of the *Mediterranean*, the terror of our enemies, and the best pledge of our near friendships; and this too after we have an undoubted title to it, to which those nations are guarantees, who have the greatest interest to wrest it out of our hands?

But to whom shall this great and most important concession be made? Not to a provoked, vanquished, and inveterate enemy, to enable him to revenge the affronts he has received: It cannot be in compliment to the emperor, for whom we are conquering kingdoms and provinces; nor to the *Dutch*, who would not move to our assistance, but have laid still, taking advantage of our misfortunes, and enjoying the fruits of our labour and expences: much less can we suppose it should be done in favour of *France*.

I confess there are many reasons why they should desire it; but they are unanswerable reasons too why we should hear such a proposition with horror. Every true *Englishman* must tremble at the growing power of *France*, to see it, like the *phœnix*, rise young, fresh, and vigorous, out of its own ashes: It is as terrible as amazing, to behold a despotic government in a few months possessed of the greatest credit which ever appeared in the world, and to clear itself of an hundred millions of debt, without paying one penny; and this done too, not by an act of power, but by the consent and applause of the whole kingdom. New fleets are building, new armies raising, new countries planting, new provinces conquering, whilst we have been loading the public with new debts, new salaries, new pensions, and no method as yet proposed (I will not say thought of) to ease our burthens.

Sure these cannot be reasons to take such a thorn out of the foot of *France*, and to remove such an obstacle to their greatness: The enterprizing genius of that nation is as well known, as it is formidable to all its neighbours, but in particular to us. I would ask, in case of a new rupture, what resource we have but in our fleets, and, by the help of *Gibraltar*, to make it impracticable for their  
squa-

squadrons in the ocean and *Mediterranean* to join? We know, by woful experience, what help we are to expect from our allies, when we have no more millions to give. We are not able to keep great standing armies at home, nor is it consistent with our liberty to do so; and therefore we ought to take every measure to increase our naval strength, and to put new bridles upon those who are, or may soon be our rivals.

The nation in the world whose power we have most reason to guard against, is that of *France*, and yet I do not know by what fatality it has often so happened that we have been the unhappy instruments of promoting it. *Oliver Cromwel* gave the first rise to its greatness at land, and king *Charles* the Second at sea: The late *Queen*†, whose heart was intirely *English*, by an ignominious peace, restored it, when it was reduced to the lowest extremity, and must have submitted to any conditions she had thought fit to impose. But sure it will never be said that a whig ministry, the patrons of liberty, the constant and declared enemies of those proceedings, should act so far in defiance of all their known principles, as voluntarily and unconstrained, in the midst of our victories, to throw away any part of that national security, which even  
the

the late betrayers purchased at the expence of their country's honour (and, I doubt was no otherwise to be had) and which are the only rewards and recompence of a tedious, successful, and glorious war, carried on at an immense expence of blood and treasure, of which we and our posterity shall long feel the severe effects.



REMARKS





# REMARKS ON TWO CHARGES,

DELIVERED

By Dr. SMALLBROKE, Lord Bishop of  
*Litchfield and Coventry*, to the Cler-  
gy of his Diocese.

WHEREIN

The DANGER of the CHURCH, from the  
Progress of Liberty, and its INDEPEN-  
DENCE upon Civil Government are con-  
sidered.

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In a LETTER to his LORDSHIP.

---

By a Friend to TRUTH and LIBERTY.

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Illi qui modo præsunt in Ecclesiis, plurimum sunt  
Fures & Latrones, plus Exactores quam Pastores,  
plus Spoliatores quam Tutores, plus Mactatores  
quam Custodes, plus Perverfores quam Doctores,  
plus Seduciores quam Ductores; isti sunt Nuntii An-  
tichristi, Subverfores Ovium Christi. ALBERT in  
*Johan.*

Rara Temporum Felicitas, ubi sentire quæ velis, &  
quæ sentias dicere licet. TACIT.

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From the SECOND EDITION, printed in the year 1740.

VOL. I.

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\* REMARKS ON TWO CHARGES, &c.

My LORD,

HAVING lately met with, where I least expected any thing of such a nature, some fragments of two charges, delivered by your Lordship to the clergy of your diocese, my curiosity led me to enquire after and peruse the performances throughout. Your Lordship's known skill and zeal in all the branches of church-beral-

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dry

• The following is an exact copy of a letter written by Dr. Smallbroke, Lord Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, to the Parson of Stone in Staffordshire, as it was taken from the original by Mr. Owen, the author of these remarks.

REV. SIR, Dean's-yard, Westminster, April 1, 1738.

I hope you have received by my servant a pamphlet wrote by way of answer to a most scurrilous libel wrote by one Mr. Owen, not only against myself, but likewise all the bishops and clergy and established church. He is a dissenting minister of Bridgnorth in Shropshire; but being turned out there lives now at Walsall, and aims, as I am told, to be preacher to the dissenters at your parish of Stone. I desire thereupon you will apprize the dissenters in your parish and round about of the true character of the said Mr. Owen; and that for such reasons you will binder, as far as you can, the said gentleman from settling

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*dry and power*, your profound erudition, and exact knowledge of all the fables of the *ancients* concerning *hobgoblins* and *fairies*; of their whims, allegorical reveries, and caballistical dreams and visions, joined with a *warm and sincere*, I cannot say *disinterested* concern for the establishment of tithes and orthodoxy, very much raised my attention. Upon the perusal it appears that liberty would be in as imminent danger from your *lordship's* model of Christianity, as you apprehend the church to be from the progress of liberty, and the downfall of usurpation, tyranny, superstition, and spiritual bondage. Without any servile fear therefore, though were I to pay such a slavish respect to any, I know none that would be *more deserving* of it than your *lordship*; I shall examine some of the most material particulars contained in these charges to your clergy. Had either of them fallen  
sooner

*settling or being encouraged in your parish or neighbourhood. I shall be glad to hear from you on this occasion, and am,*

SIR,

Your faithful brother  
and humble servant,

*Richard Litchfield and Coventry.*

To the Rev. Mr. Stebbing, Minister of *Stowe*, in *Staffordshire*.

Free

*Richard Litchfield and Coventry.*

Mr. Owen's copy is in my hands,

R. BARNES.

sooner into my hands, it might have engaged earlier animadversions.

Probably it will be urged, it is *infidelity* or worse, to expostulate on any points of this nature with a bishop of the church. It is allowed an awful deference is due to your lordship, and those of your lordship's character, whose peculiar province is, to be *in the right*, and whose business, is *never to be mistaken*. These are blessings of an uncommon size, when held without the *absurd claims* of infallibility. But still as *Christians* it is our *right*, as *protestants*, it is our *privilege*, and as *Englishmen*, it is our *glory*, that we dare judge for ourselves in matters of faith and religion. When we consider ourselves under these several relations, there can be no virtue in blind-folding our understandings. Passive obedience is equally odious in *church* and *state*, whether it be to the will of an *arbitrary prince*, or the dictates of a *tyrannical clergy*. I need offer no farther apology for the honest freedom I shall use in the following address to your lordship.

In the introduction to your first charge, it is observed, “ that \* the good providence of God re-  
“ moved you from your former diocese to your  
“ native country.” I shall not take upon me to

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en-

\* Charge 1. p. 3.

enquire whether it was a good providence to your lordship, or to the clergy of that diocese you were removed from, or to both together. But, my lord, you must allow me to be a little ludicrous upon proper occasions. It puts me in mind of a country clergyman, who, upon leaving the flock committed to his charge, observed, in your lordship's dialect, that the *good providence* of God had removed him.—A poor parish-boy took occasion to ask the *reverend ambassador*, if providence had called him to a *lesser* benefice, or a more *advantageous* situation. To the *latter* be sure, replies the man of God; so I concluded, says he, or providence might have *called* ever so *loud* and *long* before you would have condescended to have given it an *answer*. The lad you will admit must be one of *Woolston's* disciples, and was sliding toward infidelity apace. What will become of *priestly prerogative*, if men are suffered to make such saucy and wicked reflections? but the application I leave to your *lordship* and the intelligent reader.

In the next page\* you go on thus; “ I shall now  
 “ proceed to another subject that is too *seasonable*  
 “ in our present circumstances to be past over in  
 “ silence; I mean, upon due consideration of the  
 “ state of our national church. I shall now shew  
 “ how we may most effectually, in our several sta-  
 “ tions,

“ tions, contribute to its support, and be best  
 “ qualified for the defence of it, against the open  
 “ attacks, and dark designs of its adversaries, of  
 “ whatever denomination.”

What ! the church in *danger*, my lord ? the perfection of beauty, and the joy of the whole body of the *clergy*, in *danger* of falling ? if so, it is reasonable that the solemnities of the pulpit should propagate the alarm, give authority to our fears, and that in our several stations we should exert our joint endeavours to remove them. But whence, my lord, arise these *chimerical* representations ? have we not a *prince* on the throne, whose good inclinations, as well as *royal word*, engage him to *preserve inviolably* the liberties of all his subjects ? are we not happy under his auspicious government in the *free possession* of many valuable blessings ? have we not persons of great worth and integrity, that sit at the helm, and if there are any there of a *different character*, yet they have been always true to *their principles and the times*, and as tenacious of the rights of the church, as your *lordship* ? have not all the visionary schemes of a *rival pretender* to the crown, been long since baffled, and his hopes blasted for ever ? are our national concerns in this happy situation, and yet the national church groaning under the bitterest extremity and distresses ? — You would not have it believed



that when our rights and properties are most *secure*, when the wisest laws are enacted, and those laws executed without *partiality* or *corruption*; when *reason* triumphs over *craft* and *superstition*, your lordship would not have it believed, that under such circumstances the church is in the greatest danger? Can the church never be safe, unless the *laws, learning* and *liberties* of the nation are brought into wreck and ruin? these ill-timed, or in your lordship's phrase, *seasonable* alarms, may fill the minds of the clergy with sedition, and their mouths with rage and clamour: but can they ever contribute to recommend virtue, to establish rational piety and religion?

It is observable that the cry of the danger of the church, has always been made use of more or less in *exact proportion* to the *progress* of common sense, and the *declension* of a spirit of bigotry and bondage. But, my lord, such reports come with an ill grace from the *friends* of the church, how entertaining soever they may prove to its *enemies*. The church of *Christ* encountered the severest difficulties, and the warmest opposition. It had not only the *magistracy*, but the *mob* and the *priesthood*; the *high church dignitaries* of the *Jewish* constitution, joined in a conspiracy against it; yet the spiritual weapons of truth, honesty, and disinterestedness overpowered them all. And as to future ages, we are expressly foretold, the gates of hell shall never prevail against it. What means this,

this, my lord ! are the interests of the church of *Christ*, and the church of *England* not only *distinct*, but *opposite* in their very nature ? one *always safe*, the other *always in danger* ? one, proof against the raillery of infidels, and rage of hell; the other trembling at the efforts of a few *hot-headed enthusiasts* and *dissenters* ? then surely, according to your *lordship's* scheme, they cannot be very near a-kin. However, I would be understood to speak with due reverence to the *coffock*.—Let them be one and the same, notwithstanding all this, and what the priests have joined, let no man put asunder.

About the time your lordship's first charge was delivered to your present diocesan clergy, among others who attacked Christianity with little sincerity, and less success, Mr. *Woolston*, an *apostate clergyman*, was one of the most considerable, \* whose name I presume is not forgotten by your lordship. Probbaly his discourses are the *poisonous libels* you refer to, † “ against the infection of which, proper preservatives were used.” But what preservatives did your lordship judge proper on that occasion ? were you conscious of any *weakness* or *insufficiency* in your *elaborate* and *bulky* defence of Christianity, that you fled for refuge to the secular arm, and called to your assistance the *salutary aids* of a fine and a dungeon ? I have been in-

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form-

\* See *Woolston's* answer to the Bishop of *St. David*, dedicated to the Queen.

† See Charge 1. p. 4.

formed, that *ludicrous* writer declared upon his trial, that our late *worthy metropolitan* expressed himself thus, with relation to that unchristian prosecution ; for should I call it persecution, the world would never believe that *bishops* had any hand in the matter ; “ Mr. *Woolston*, I am sorry for your sufferings, but had you wrote ten times as much against *Christianity*, without attacking *clerical authority* and *power*, you had been *safe* and *unmolested* still.” — However that be, permit me to observe, my lord, and with an *honest* concern for the honour of Christianity I speak it, this very conduct gave a *greater reputation* to Mr. *Woolston's* *ribaldry* and *distraction*, than it could otherwise have obtained ; and even a greater than your *lordship's* *writing* against him. It is natural to *show* compassion for those who suffer for any *peculiarity* in their notions, to be prejudiced in favour of their cause, and to express a *generous indignation* at the authors and abettors of their sufferings. Was Mr. *Woolston* delivered over to the jailor, to be buffeted for the salvation of his soul, or the suppression of his libels ? a dungeon could never enlighten his understanding ; and *infidelity* rejoiced in such a *favourable* opportunity of spreading abroad the *inglorious fame* of his imprisonment and writings ; not to mention, that as truth *stands* not in *need*, so it *scorns* such *wicked arts* to support its authority.

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As I have no concern with the *history* of the *puritans*, I shall take no farther notice of your remarks on that head, than what necessarily comports with my design to expose the *wickedness* and *folly* of claiming a jurisdiction over conscience; and invading the *monarchy*, the *universal monarchy* of earth, as well as heaven. It is observed, that \* the long-ago *confuted* pretensions of the old *puritans*, are brought afresh on the stage. Were not their pretensions founded upon the same principle with the reformation itself, the *right of private judgment*, and acting according to it in matters of religion? will your *lordship* deny this? who then *confuted* their pretensions? no friends to the *reformation*, to the *church* of *England*, would attempt it; and did they, I hope your *lordship* will agree with me in this, such attempts would have been vain and fruitless. True, they had many *wild antic extravagances* among them; and a *gloomy idiotism* that usurped the name of virtue, which still prevails amongst many of their successors and disciples.—They worshipped *God* as if the *devil* was in them; but still the distinguishing principle they separated upon, was a generous zeal for and a noble attachment to the *liberties* of their country. But I forbear, to make way for the danger of the

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church.

\* Charge 1, p. 5.

church —† “ The virulent reflections on the  
 “ two renowned Archbishops *Parker* and *Whitgift*,  
 “ the late attempt on the *legal maintenance* of the  
 “ clergy by *tithes* ; those latter ones on the disci-  
 “ pline of the *established church*, and the legal ju-  
 “ risdiction of the governors of it, in concurrence  
 “ with the growth of infidelity, prophaneness,  
 “ and immorality. — The *numbers* of those that  
 “ are *unbelievers*, or are for no *establishment* of  
 “ Christianity at all, or are *disaffected* to the *present*  
 “ *establishment* of it amongst us ; from these views  
 “ we cannot but have some *melancholy* thoughts  
 “ concerning the final issue and result of things.”  
 my lord, cheer up your spirits, *melancholy thoughts*  
 often issue in a *fixed settled delirium*. Witness  
 the *craftsmen of Ephesus*. Their zeal for their  
 Goddesses, and her silver shrines, soon improved it-  
 self into a *venerable frenzy*, and a *consecrated riot* ;  
 so that they knew not wherefore they came together,  
 The men were *mad*, but still they were *profoundly*  
*orthodox*, my lord. — It was not the *Goddesses* that  
 they worshipped, but the very object of priestly  
 adoration throughout all successive ages. — Her  
*silver shrines* ! but the particulars referred to, de-  
 serve a closer examination. Can a faithful his-  
 tory of the character of one or two *renowned ec-*  
*cles-*

ecclesiastics be a reproach upon their order? if so, what the *poet* observed as to *priests of all religions*, may be justly applicable to *priests of all ages*, that they are the same; inspired with the *same lust* of dominion and power, the *same thirst* for blood, the *same zeal* for knavery and persecution. — But whatever your lordship may think, I cannot fall in with so *wild* an opinion. As truth can never suffer by exploding *dark unscriptural* systems, or *alchemy* can never be brought into disgrace by a just contempt of *quacks* and *empirics*; so neither can the church be ever hurt by an honest representation of characters or facts that tend neither to its security or honour. “The late attempt on the legal maintenance of the clergy by tithes,” likewise awakens your lordship’s resentments. Supposing, my lord, there had been any regulations of tithes, would this have brought the church into danger? would there be no *priests*, no *bishops*, were there no *tithes*, no *establishments*? is all the *devotion* of the *clergy* bound up in these, my lord? it seems, it is the same as to *ecclesiastical* and *military squadrons*, and that the *prowess* of the *church*, as well as of *armies*, depend upon *good pay* and *provision*; and those, who are enlisted into the service of both alike, may fight for *hire*, but will *desert* their *respective posts*, if there be no other reward than the prospect of being serviceable to their country. But if the church be in any *danger*, there

there are some more probable reasons to be assigned for it, than those which are pointed at by your lordship. Is there no *danger* from *bigotry* and *superstition* ; from *church-pride* and *tyranny* ; from the *illegal* and *arbitrary pretensions* of *insolent ecclesiastics* † ? is there no *danger* of its being brought into reproach from *bishops* that never *preach*, from *divines* that never *study*, unless it be how to *aggrandize* themselves, and *oppress* the *laity*, by their high exorbitant claims as to *ecclesiastical fees* and *revenues* ? is there no *danger* from the rigid uncharitable *imposition* of *forged creeds* and *formularies* upon the Christian people ? is there no *danger* from the clergy's *swearing* to, or at least *subscribing* doctrines as true, which they believe to be *false* and *unscriptural*, and being guilty of *solemn perjury*, in the name of the lord ? is the church in no *danger* from that little *awkward stiffness* and *pedantry* of behaviour ; from that *fury* which wears the *mask* of *zeal* ; from that *disaffection* to the *protestant* family on the throne, which your lordship cannot be *ignorant* of, *reigns* among a considerable part of the *inferior* clergy ? is there no *danger* when the church has a greater share in our *merriments* than in our *prayers* ; when our *zeal*

for

† Of what avail the abolition of Paganism, if we still retain the worst part of it, and have an army of Christian priests, that delight in bloodshed and confusion ? Ch. 1. p. 26.

for it grows *warm* in our cups, but *stagnates* in our devotions?—These are such reasons for the *danger* of the church, as well deserved your notice; and which, my lord, as a *Christian bishop* at least, you had done well to consider.—But I ask pardon, your lordship's fears may arise from *another* quarter.

If we take a view of the reign of *King Charles* the second, we shall find that *infidelity* and *prophaneness* were never so rampant in the land as then, from the *reformation*, down to the present times. Upon the *restoration*, the flood-gates of *Hell* and *Rome* seemed to be let open upon us. And yet in that *blessed æra*, the church was prosperous and flourishing; the *priests* pampered with luxury, and no complaints known of danger. But when *liberty* and *King William* ascended the *British* throne, its complaints were renewed, and excepting a short interval in the following reign, have been continued ever since.

Your *lordship* complains of the growth of *infidelity*; nor, according to the modern use of the phrase, are your lordship's complaints needless! we have multitudes in this nation, and may the number *daily increase*! that do not always *believe*, neither *worship* the clergy. It has indeed been the complaint of every age. the former times were better than these. The cry is as *stale* as it is  
*common.*



common. But do *infidelity*, *immorality*, and *prophaneness* grow? what can be the reason of this? are the *clergy*, who ought to be the *advocates* of Christianity, and *guardians* of our liberties, grown more ignorant than in former times? or are they grown more *profligate* and *wicked*? do their *lives* make *atheists*, or their *doctrines* *slaves*? whatever *infidels* may pretend, your *lordship* will not suggest this? in the body politic, *wicked governors* and a *corrupt administration* propagate corruption among all inferior ranks of subjects: and is it not the same as to religion?—Are the times *bad*?—It is your *lordship's*, and the *clergy's* business to make them better. It is in your power to reform the world, to bring virtue into *fashion*; and it is with an *ill grace* men complain of evils that are of their own begetting. Is it matter of fact that the number of unbelievers daily increases? what account is then to be given of the vigilance and conduct of a *pompous spiritual soldiery*, retained for the service of the church and truth? are they not blessed with national honours and preferments? is not the world prejudiced on their side? have they not the advantage of a good cause, and yet, after all, an *unequal match* for a *few naked* unbelievers? surely, my lord, they ill deserve to be kept in constant pay, who are either too lazy to fight, or too unskilful to conquer, when the opposition.

sition is so weak and trifling. Superstition has been generally the parent of infidelity ; and the long-ago exploded absurdities and traditions of divine right, uninterrupted succession, &c. which have been vamped up afresh, and retailed abroad by some of our modern hierarchical champions, speaks them better qualified to increase the doubts, and confirm the prejudices of unbelievers, than to satisfy and remove them. When the nostrums of a party are dressed up as the essentials of Christian worship, no wonder if persons of volatile dispositions should confound truth and error, and reject Christianity itself as an imposture.

But are our \*restless adversaries abroad waiting for the advantages they reap from the prospect of confusion at home ? Still it is your Lordship's and the clergy's business to disappoint their hopes. Have we confusions at home ? remove the *cause*, the *effect* will cease of course. Who more likely to propagate confusion, than they who raise a *tumultuous* alarm of the *danger of the church* ? Who would establish a prelatical jurisdiction on a *level with the civil constitution itself*, and consequently represent the church, as invested with a power to destroy, as well as save ; to excommunicate princes, as well as pardon and absolve them ? Instead of this, exert your influence, my lord, to heal  
strife.

\* Charge 1. p. 6.

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strife, and unite protestants : put an end to the uncharitable differences among them, recommend principles of love and benevolence, not to a *distinguishing sect* or party, but to the whole race of mankind ; cultivate a spirit of meekness and charity toward Christians of different sentiments and denominations ; resign all authoritative claims over conscience, and let the clergy cease from invading the rights of their fellow-creatures, and the sole prerogative of the deity ; give up the rigid imposition of things confessedly indifferent in their own nature, and make the gates of the church as wide as the gates of heaven.

In Page 8, your Lordship observes, that “ we live in an incredulous age, that much indulges scepticism, and disputes the grounds of faith that have been all along received.” Asserting the right of *private judgment*, and denying the *infallibility* of the church, may perhaps be represented as *incredulity* by your lordship. But waving that, let an honest reverence be paid to notions that have been received ; yet I hope your lordship’s faith is not settled merely upon tradition.— Let that be the boasted unenvied claim of a *corrupt hierarchy* and *priestcraft* ; but all good protestants will build their faith upon a nobler foundation. *Scepticism* can never prove as injurious to Christianity, (what it may to the church, you are best able to determine) as *credulity* and an  
*implicit*

*implicit obedience.* Enquiring into the grounds of faith cannot weaken, but confirm and establish its authority.—I agree that we ought to be always ready, and I add able, to give an answer to every one that asks a reason of the hope that is in us. “ We ought to be prepared to evince the grounds “ and necessity of reforming the church of *Eng-* “ *land*, from the idolatries, superstitions, and u- “ *surpations of the Romish communion.*” But ought we not, my lord, in this to be consistent with ourselves? Or of what avail to deliver an elaborate *charge against popery*, and at the same time be for establishing a *protestant popery* at home? To dethrone his *belinefs*, and set up in his room an *infallibility* of your own at *Litchfield* or *Lambeth*, to defend our *church* upon the authority of those very principles you explode as to the *Romish church* and communion? — Put the case, out of respect to your lordship, I will not urge it as fact, that when you had condemned bowings and prostrations to saints, incense before, and salutations to their images \*, the grave pastoral charge being concluded, you (very consistently, my lord) tacked about, and made a *right reverend* bow to the altar. It will perhaps be said, it is out of *gratitude*, an acknowledgment of favours, and a *tribute* paid for the gold received from the altar. But

\* Charge 2. p. 9.

But still would not your lordship's conduct in such a case destroy all the force of your reasonings? Spectators will conclude that you harangue for pay, but act upon *principle*. — I remember what I once heard from your lordship, “*speculative notions* are lost upon the generality of mankind, but *example* has its *influence* on the meanest capacity.”

The next particular that deserves notice, is your observation \*, “that we ought to have just apprehensions of the judgments of God upon us, removing our candlestick, for our most shameful abuses of the light of the gospel, and our preferring the return of heathenism both in principle and practice to a divine revelation.” I would hope your lordship doth not mean this of the clergy, to whom your charge is particularly directed. If this representation be matter of fact, I am sorry for it, my lord: with all reverence to your sacred character, I would willingly believe that in this *one instance it is possible* for you to be mistaken. But if you shall insist upon it, I must submit to your lordship's superior judgment. However, if so, I find according to your concession, that the priesthood are not so zealous in guarding against the return of heathenism, as against the loss of spiritual tithes and jurisdiction.

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\* Charge 1. p. 9.

It is obvious, that the cry of judgments, by an unseasonable application, have lost much of their force and terror; and have been generally wrested to serve alike on both sides of a question. *Zuinglius*, a famous reformer, being burnt for heresy, it was reported his heart was found entire and unconsumed among the ashes. The Papists urged that it denoted the hardness and obduracy of his heart; the Protestants with *equal propriety*, that is, none at all, represented it as a sign of its firmness and integrity. — In days of yore it was believed, that the entrails of beasts prophesied; and birds chattered futurity: and is it not equally miraculous, that judgments should arise out of the dust, and that dreams or broomsticks should prognosticate the displeasure of heaven? But, my lord, if judgments must take place; of *all judgments*, it is the *greatest* to be deluded by such *idle* and *superstitious* notions, to indulge such *wild* and *visionary* fears.

What next offers to view, is your lordship's high encomium on the *established episcopal church*, where you observe that it *stands \* on a level with the civil constitution itself. Only on a level, my lord!* A kind and gracious concession? The church and king, as your *Lordship well knows*, has been the *taft* of *orthodoxy* for some ages. The *mitre* bore the

\* Charge 1. p. 10.

the preheminance, and the crown truckled to its dictates. But *tempora mutantur & nos mutamur in illis.*

It is well known, how King *Henry* the second was excommunicated by the pope, for affronting a mean-born, saucy, seditious, and ungrateful priest; who, by his prince's favour, had been promoted to the highest dignities in the kingdom. Nor did the vengeance of the church cease with the rebel's death. The priest-ridden monarch was obliged to atone for his former want of docility and submission to the holy see. Before he could procure an absolution, he was sentenced to walk barefoot to the infamous rebel, *Thomas a Becket's* tomb, and there was whipt and scourged by a gang of monks and villains, of the order of *St. Augustine*. And in latter days we have not wanted instances of ecclesiastics that have pretended to a kind of sovereignty over princes. The holy martyr *Laud* ordered, that the queen of *Bohemia*, our present sovereign's royal great grandmother, and her royal issue, should have their names expunged out of the prayers of the church, which was accordingly done. Yet when the church thus triumphed over the civil constitution, that compleat churchman *Echard* assures us, that all this time *England* had a mighty shew of glory and felicity! Though there were such open and undisguised attacks upon the protestant religion, yet the church was then so far

far from danger, that the same *reverend historian* adds, it was shining in grandeur ! But alas ! these happy days are over ! according to your lordships scheme, it can never go well with the church, unless its friends are not only allowed to reign over conscience, but like *true sons* of the *mother of harlots*, to \* reign over the kings of the earth. However, this point deserves a closer attention. Whence is it, that the church is on a level with the civil constitution itself ? Doth it not derive all its authority from thence ? Is it not the *great seal of England* that makes bishops ? Are the clergy subjects, or are they kings ? Perhaps it will be said, neither ; they are *Gods*, though they not only *die*, but *live too*, like other men. Are they all bound by their *oaths*, I will not press their inclinations into the service, to be governed by the laws ? to be governed by them as subjects ? — But if they are on a *level with the civil constitution itself*, should any competition arise, are we bound to obey the prince and the laws, or the church and clergy ? Or has the convocation any right to meet and assemble without the royal licence and authority ? Surely it has, if it be on a *level with the civil constitution itself* ? Why then will you, my lord, and the dignitaries of the church, submit in so plain a case to any bold and arbitrary encroachments

\* Revelations.



ments on your rights, as to suffer yourselves to be prorogued by a *pretence to royal authority*, where there is no just authority at all? But your lordship may be able to assign wise reasons for it. However, on all *proper occasions*, the priesthood are to “ \* vindicate those spiritual powers derived from “ their great Master.” Who he is, your lordship has not thought proper to mention; but I hope, my lord, you mean neither the *pope*, nor his elder brother the devil. They are to “ vindicate “ those powers so derived, by shewing that they “ are † in their own nature *distinct from*, and in- “ *dependent of* all secular authority.” But how is this to be done? — By mobbing, treason and rebellion? Though the fervent prayers of a righteous man avail much, yet it is to be hoped that neither the fervent prayers nor exhortations, even of a bishop, will ever avail to put in execution any seditious schemes to render the church independent of the state, and investing the priesthood with authority to depose emperors and princes. — But, my lord, however men of ‡ *distinguishing character* buoy themselves up with a notion of independence upon civil government, in *point of prudence* they should take heed that they do not provoke to jealousy, that royal clemency which *connives* at such arrogating claims and usurpations. Perhaps  
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\* Charge 2. p. 53.

† Ibid.

‡ Charge 2. p. 54.

it will be said, these are visionary fears,——for none are blessed with the perusal of the writings that propagate such notions, but a few diocesan clergy; and that some modern *episcopal charges*, the very reverse of their *authors*,——never reside at court, but in the country. However, my lord, while such fanatical principles are publicly espoused and defended, you must expect to be called upon to give some consistent account of your conduct. When your lordship had the *Holy Ghost* conferred upon you in ordination, did you not then solemnly subscribe the 37th article of the church, which runs thus. — “ The queen’s majesty has the  
 “ chief power in this realm of *England*, and other  
 “ her dominions, unto whom the chief government  
 “ of all estates of this realm, whether they be ec-  
 “ clesiastical or civil, in all causes doth apper-  
 “ tain; and is not, nor ought to be subject to any  
 “ foreign jurisdiction.” Have you not solemnly  
 subscribed this article, my lord? — But perhaps  
 you subscribed it as an article of *peace*, and not of  
*faith*.—Further, is it not expressly ordained by the  
 canons of our church,——“ That whosoever shall  
 “ hereafter affirm, that the king’s majesty has not  
 “ the same authority in causes ecclesiastical, that  
 “ the godly kings had among the *Jews* and Chris-  
 “ tian emperors in the primitive church, or im-  
 “ peach any part of his *regal supremacy*, in the said  
 “ causes restored to the crown, and by the laws  
 VOL. I. O “ of

“ of this realm therein established ; let him be  
 “ *excommunicate ipso facto*, and not restored but by  
 “ the archbishop, and after his repentance, and  
 “ public revocation of those his wicked errors.”  
 And are not all, who are consecrated for the ser-  
 vices of the altar, enjoined by canon 36, to sub-  
 scribe, “ That the king’s majesty, under God, is  
 “ the only supreme governor of this realm, and  
 “ of all other his highness’s dominions and coun-  
 “ tries, as well in all *spiritual or ecclesiastical*  
 “ *things or causes*, as temporal ; and that no fo-  
 “ reign prince, person, *prelate*, state, or poten-  
 “ tate, hath, or ought to have any jurisdiction,  
 “ power, superiority, preheminence or authority,  
 “ ecclesiastical or spiritual, within his majesty’s said  
 “ realms, dominions and countries.” And accord-  
 ing to the 25 *H. 8. c. 19*, “ the clergy of the realm  
 “ of *England* have not only acknowledged, ac-  
 “ cording to the truth, that the convocations of the  
 “ same clergy is, always hath been, and ought to  
 “ be assembled only by the king’s writ ; but also  
 “ submitting themselves to the king’s majesty,  
 “ have promised, in *verbo sacerdotis*, that they will  
 “ never from henceforth presume to attempt, al-  
 “ ledge, claim, or put in ure, enact, promulge,  
 “ or execute any new canons, constitutions, or  
 “ dinances, provincial, or others ; or by whatso-  
 “ ever name they shall be called in convocation,  
 “ unless the king’s most royal assent and licence

“ to them may be had, to make, promulge, and  
 “ execute the same ; and, that his majesty do give  
 “ his royal assent and authority in that behalf,  
 “ And whereas, divers constitutions, ordinances,  
 “ and canons, provincial or synodal, which here-  
 “ tofore have been enacted ; and be thought not  
 “ only to be much prejudicial to the king’s prero-  
 “ gative royal, and repugnant to the laws and  
 “ statutes of this realm ; but also ~~overmuch~~ oner-  
 “ ous to his highness, and his subjects, &c.”  
 And accordingly enacts ; “ Be it therefore enacted,  
 “ by the authority of this present parliament, ac-  
 “ cording to the said submission and petition of  
 “ the said clergy, that they, nor either of them  
 “ henceforth, shall *presume* to attempt, alledge,  
 “ claim, or put in ure, any constitutions, or or-  
 “ dinances provincial or synodal, or any other ca-  
 “ nons, nor shall enact, promulge, or execute  
 “ any such canons, constitutions, or ordinances  
 “ provincial, by whatsoever name or names they  
 “ may be called in their convocations in time co-  
 “ ming, which always shall be assembled by au-  
 “ thority of the king’s writ, &c.” And will your  
 lordship, in defiance of acts of parliament, in con-  
 tempt of the canons of the church, and in direct  
 opposition to those articles you have subscribed,  
 maintain that the church is independent of the im-  
 perial crown of these realms ?

Your lordship's account of the opposition to the episcopal church, is, "That \* men's prejudices are frequently too powerful for their reason." The remark in general is certainly just; and I humbly submit it to the judgment of the reader, whether it will not appear from the following reflections, that your particular preposterous application of it to others, doth not speak it in fact the case of your lordship. Few, my lord, are prejudiced in favour of disgrace, discouragements, and unpopular notions. Had the enemies of the church any prospect that their opposition would entitle them to *bishoprics, translations, pluralities, and commendams*; were there any *stipends* and *honours* annexed to their opposition; or were their notions the offspring of *churchmanship* and *brandy*, none at all would be surpris'd that their prejudices should be too powerful for their reason. But when men expose themselves to great hardships and difficulties in life, to a low and penurious subsistence, when they prefer poverty and a good conscience to wealth and power, it is unaccountable it should be suggested, that, under such circumstances, prejudices are too powerful for their reason. Did they thirst after universal hierarchy, and grasp at empire in *this world*, as well as lay claim to the *keys of the next*; their prejudices in supporting

porting such *interested* views, might prove too powerful for their reason — But when we consider, my lord, that the party in the opposition are generally made up of *conscientious illiterate folks*, that wear *meagre* and *sanctified* complexions, and do not court *grandeur* and *popularity* as much as *grace* and *truth*, which came by *Christ Jesus*; where is the charity, where is the consistence; nay, where is the *prudence*, which may be a more *fundamental* point with your lordship, to damn them wholesale as a race of prejudiced bigots? Was *your lordship* to renounce all ecclesiastical immunities and honours, to resign your church-preferments, cease from lording it in the senate, and with an awful brow adjusting the weighty concerns of the nation; were you to desire to be a bishop, as it is a *good work*, rather than covet a bishopric without any of the work at all, as it is a *good thing*; some perhaps would then be convinced, that *you were prejudiced* against the love of money, but none would ever suggest that your lordship, in such a case, was prejudiced against the force of conviction.

Indeed, such a fatal bias do worldly pomp and greatness put upon men's understandings, that our Saviour seems to represent it impossible, that those who enjoy them, should at the same time be sincere admirers of truth. How can they believe, who receive honour one of another? The

emoluments of the church, its consecrated treasures and trinkets would have been in danger, clerical authority and power must cease, if Christianity took place; and rather than renounce these, it seems, like *good churchmen*, they would have ~~swore~~ religion to be a bubble, as well as the *Messiah* to be an impostor.

I would not suppress any thing, that may *give pleasure* to your lordship. Among many other surprising miracles recorded in sacred history, one almost *incredible* in its nature, is, — That a *great number* of priests became *obedient to the faith*. Perhaps, my lord, you may not think the miracle so great as I represent it; but I shall have your lordship's concurrence when you consider, that they became obedient with a view to glory and immortality, and not to *present pay*. Upon the whole, it appears that when men embrace despised unfashionable notions, it is more natural to suppose, that reason triumphs over their interests and their prejudices, than that interest truckles to prejudice, and prejudice triumphs over reason.

In the following page your lordship accounts for *Jerome's* opinion concerning episcopacy; by observing that *Jerome* entertained some resentments against *John, bishop of Jerusalem*, and therefore treated episcopacy with some terms of diminution. Might you not have said, my Lord, without minding the matter, with an avowed contempt?

The

The good father, it seems, was out of humour, and he must needs publish *solemn lies* to gratify his spleen and passion. As for my part, I take the history of *Quixote's errandries*, to be a lively emblem of the wild romantic extravagances of the Fathers. Nor am I at all concerned either with *Jerom* or *episcopacy*.— But where is the consistence of deifying the *authority* of the *fathers*, when they serve a turn, and of representing them as persons of no integrity or character, if they happen to be against you? Their *authority* is indisputable, if their schemes tally with yours; but they must be old, *peevish, passionate, bigots, or hypocrites*, if on the other side of the question. It put me in mind of the humour of country elections, as running exactly parallel with this behaviour in your lordship. The abandoned tools of a party are painted under the venerable names of patriots, while persons of greatest integrity, in different principles and interests, are weak, corrupt, crafty, or designing; or to use the language of Mr. Addison's fox-hunter, which perhaps may be more agreeable to your lordship\*, “ One is a dog, another is a whelp, another a cur, another the son of a bitch;” under which several denominations, the rural squire comprehended all those who were attached to an interest opposite to his

\* Freeholder.



own. Whether St. *Jerom* has met with a kinder fate, is very easy to be determined.

What next occurs, is, that as soon as the apostles left the world, the \* “ordinary functions” of their apostleship devolved on the bishops as “governors of particular churches.” I am glad to find that the bishops in those early days did not arrogate to themselves all the lordly claims of spiritual authority. It seems the province of those who would be the *governors of the universe*, and who have been *its plague*, I do not mean protestant bishops, my lord, was originally to be governors of *particular churches*. But did they as governors lay claim to a *monopoly* of wealth and grace? Were they the *only wise men*, and was all wisdom to die with them? No; it was to be conveyed down in an *uninterrupted succession*, to the future priests of future ages. — But wherein did the *ordinary* function of apostleship consist? Was it not in preaching the word in season and out of season? And is this devolved upon the bishops? I should have rather concluded, that they would be heirs to the more *extraordinary miraculous gifts* of the apostles, and, to prove their title of inheritance, shew by their example, that they can *work miracles* at proper seasons, as it is a *miracle* for a — *modern bishop* to preach.

I shall

\* Charge 1. p. 13.

I shall not examine, at present, into what your lordship has advanced concerning the importance of studying ecclesiastical antiquity. That the history of the fathers is nothing more than a representation of a *theological bear garden*, is what I presume, my lord, you will readily agree to ; and in return to such a concession, let it be acknowledged, that men of leisure may squander away their time decently and genteely upon them. But,

We are now arriving at another period ; and to view “ the † episcopal church as established by law, when the powers of the *Roman* empire became Christian.” I take it for granted that in your lordship’s phrase, the *episcopal* church and *Christianity* always go for synonymous expressions. You observe, that before Christianity was established, “ § it was in an unhappy state of minority.” But whether the church when its *state of minority* ceased, did not like some *other minors*, when grown up to be their own masters, distinguish itself more by its *pride and possessions*, than by any more valuable accomplishments. I leave you to consider ; whether it did not likewise act in open contempt of the wise and salutary instructions of its old guardians and friends, will perhaps be none of your lordship’s interest to determine. But however unhappy the church’s state of minority may appear,

O 5. it:

† Charge 2. p. 17.

§ Ibid.

it must be allowed, my lord, to be more unhappy still, if such times should ever happen, when the name of the *church* shall be made an engine of *tyranny* and *superstition*; when its authority shall be urged to oppress honesty and conscience; when such notions are advanced, as that God Almighty is only the deputy of ecclesiastics, and can confer grace and favour only with the leave of the sacred priesthood, and by the permission of my lords the Bishops; and when those monopolize to themselves the salvation of another world, who are scarce worthy to live in this. Nor can our fears of such time be ill grounded, if what your lordship maintains be true, “that there is scarce honesty enough in the nation to preserve it from downright ruin.” *Persecution* was never so fatal to Christianity, as the *domineering claims* of high churchmen. Nothing has fixed a greater odium upon religion, than crafty and designing bigots, *sacking the interest of heaven* to those extravagant fooleries that support *their own*. But I ask pardon, notwithstanding all your zeal for a hierarchy and *terriers*, I am far from judging your lordship to be of that number.

It is granted that there ought to be † a proper maintenance for the clergy. — But what will your lordship judge to be proper on such an occasion?

¶ See Charge 1. p. 37.

† Charge 1. p. 18.

sion? must they have that reward for *worshipping* God, which was offered our Saviour for *worshipping* the devil, the kingdoms of this world, and all the glories thereof. Must their hire be proportionate to the work and merit, or must the lazy, the indolent and unskilful have all the pay, though they do nothing to earn it? my lord, were church emoluments distributed in just and equitable proportions, there would be a handsome and liberal subsistence for every parish priest in the nation. I appeal to your lordship as to this. It is a trite observation, "that the church had *golden priests*," "when it had *wooden chalices*; but when religion brought forth wealth, the *daughter devoured* "the *mother*." Yet notwithstanding this, your lordship well knows that this unnatural monster, which preys upon that which gave her birth, has a multitude of *rival admirers*, and is courted, if not *idolized*, by the whole body of the priesthood. It is true, many of that venerable herd are under strait circumstances: let them be relieved out of the abundance of those who neither *want* nor *deserve* it. There is something very entertaining in *Constantine's* well-meant folly and devotion to the clergy, when assembled at the council of *Nice*: "God has made you priests, and has impowered you to judge me righteously, but you are above the cognizance of any human tribunal.—" "You are as Gods to me, and no man has autho-

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" rity

"rity to judge you." My lord, I often thought that *consecration* was one of the church's peculiar prerogatives and blessings ; but it seems to be otherwise in this instance, and many of the holy tribe have arrogated divinity ever since†.

The authority of the *Theodosian* code is urged by your lordship in favour of establishments, I will not say, with a view to supersede the authority of the bible. It has been condemned as idolatry\*, and exaggerated in the blackest views, to believe that the will of the son is dependent upon that of the father ; but it is an *orthodox* principle to believe that the will of God should submit to, and be determined by human laws and systems. Supposing a subordination of persons in the Godhead has been marked out as an instance of accomplished wickedness and folly ; but to represent the Christian revelation, as subordinate to the authority of the church, is no crime at all ; nay, the greatest of all *ecclesiastical*, I cannot say *Christian* virtues. And even to *depose* the father, is less unpardonable than to deny the *Supremacy of the clergy*. But whatever your lordship may think, I must own myself too much an *infidel*, to believe against the first principles of Reason. Your lordship wishes that *Julian's* malice towards the clergy had found none to imitate it out of hatred to christianity

† Charge 1. p. 18.  
Arianism.

\* See Dr. Smallbrooke's Sermons on

stianity itself. Then it is granted, that his malice was not levied at *Christianity*, but at *ecclesiastics*. I rejoice to find it allowed that there may be an enmity against the ill conduct of the latter, without any disregard to the former. But perhaps, upon farther consideration, your lordship may think proper to retract this.

You observe, that “such an extraordinary sort of subsistence as that, by voluntary contributions, is not always to be expected; and a legal establishment doth justly compensate for the want of oblation, when the love of many is grown very cold.” But why are not voluntary contributions always to be expected?—The clergy, as men of character and education, will always engage reverence and esteem, if they have prudence and good conduct enough to deserve it. I am informed, that the protestant dissenting ministers here in *England*, receive their pay by voluntary contributions; and if I am rightly instructed, it is the same with some of the reformed protestants abroad. Will your lordship pretend that the preachers in the establishment do not do as much to recommend themselves to their people’s affections, as those to theirs? are not those who frequent places of established worship, much more considerable in numbers, than those who attend separate

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congregations? if so, then the dissenting clergy must be men of superior worth, or the dissenters in general must be persons of a more beneficent disposition than those who submit to established rites and impositions.——I cannot admit of either; however, I will not dispute this point with your lordship.

Is the love of many grown *cold*? what can be the reason? is bigotry *warm* and *rampant*? are the laity *shackled* with creeds and impositions?——No wonder, if so, that their love is grown *very cold*. It is well if the very fundamentals of Christianity be not banished from amongst them. Or doth it proceed from the want of better instructions? do the clergy *live* upon the *ignorance* and *superstition* of the people, without any regard to the duties of their function? *hot sermons*, my lord, have been generally productive of suitable effects, *bloodbaths*, *rancour*, and *confusion*. How far *cold* and *lifeless* ones, without any force of address, or energy of reason, may propagate *coldness*, is well worth our attention.

In the next paragraph it follows, “that establishments do not convert spiritual into civil, but give a sanction to that which was before, and still continues divine and heavenly.” That is, though priests are above being engaged in any thing that

that bears the name of a secular employment, yet to shew the world their *humility*, they condescend to accept the highest secular dignities and honours. But is every thing *divine* and *heavenly*, in the established constitution? all the claims of the hierarchy *divine* and *heavenly*, my lord? those branches of spiritual dominion which are an oppression upon mankind, and a reproach to Christianity, *divine* and *heavenly* in their nature? have you not expressly declared, that there are some lesser deficiencies in the government of the church, and are these *divine* and *heavenly* too?—They are legal privileges.—True, so was once the act *de hæretico comburendo*\*, and no doubt would be counted so still, had not the wisdom of the legislature, to restrain priestly vengeance and executions, thought proper to repeal it.

But I must beg leave to expostulate with your lordship on another subject. What connexion between virtue and establishments, my lord? do establishments, merely because they are so, demand our reverence and esteem? it is to be hoped then, your lordship will exert your influence, that we may have *established Gods* as well as an *established religion*; and that we may be blessed with *national divinities*, as well as *national churches*, and let all those who expect any church-promotions, swear  
*allegiance,*

\* The act for burning heretics



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*allegiance, if not to the king, yet at least to the Gods of their country.* However romantic to infidels this scheme may appear, however unfriendly to Christianity, it will be for the good of the church, increase its wealth and power, and the lowest rank of ecclesiastical officers, who are now no more than the *privy counsellors* of heaven, will then be privileged to *make*, as well as *set forth* strange Gods. If establishments are such glorious things, why are not good nature, social virtue, and free enquiry into truth, established by parliamentary power? without this let none arrogate to themselves the names of establishments of *religion*! — If our establishment comprehends all this, why so many whores and cut-throats, so many ignorant bigots, knaves, and persecutors in our church and communion? why so many *Tyburn saints* and *confessors*, that die in the faith of our church? I leave you to account for this, and should rejoice to find that establishments have a greater tendency to propagate virtue, than to debauch men's morals and understandings; and to promote pride, avarice and faction.

Your lordship observes, that the \* “ *Roman* “ emperors were invested with power of govern- “ ing the church as well as the state.” What, my lord, *lay governors* of churches? and yet the

\* Charge 1. p. 20.

the church on a level with the civil constitution itself, to whose government she submits? If the Roman emperors were invested with a power of church government, how comes this to be now peculiarly appropriated to priests and bishops? But I stand corrected, my Lord. They were only invested with an *usurped* power of governing the church, the sole uncontrollable right of government lies in the clergy.

It is worth remarking, that insisting on the rights of conscience, seems to give great umbrage and offence to your lordship. The divine right of church-lands and episcopacy, of tithes and offerings, I presume never give any umbrage at all. But to urge the rights of conscience in your phrase, "is *invidious*." I should not have been surprized to find one that is a stranger to the laws of conscience himself, represent all regard for its dictates in others, as mere *enthusiasm*, rant and folly. But to find a church of England divine, a dignitary in the church, decrying conscience with so much contempt, and with a solemn sneer paint out those who are influenced by it, as \* "high pretenders to spiritual liberty," must be a paradox to all that are not as well initiated in those *holy mysteries* as your lordship. Speak out, my lord. — Tell the world that conscience is only a  
trick.

\* Charge 1. p. 22.

trick of priests; an ecclesiastical foot-ball, to be tossed about just as it *serves the times*. Generously declare, that it is *invidious* to urge conscience against — *some thousands* a year, that whatever strikes at church-tyranny is *invidious*, or whatever weakens the foundations of all illegal and arbitrary encroachments upon the rights of mankind.

The next observation carries along with it, something very extraordinary in its nature. As to “the reformation of the idolatrous *Jews*, or the  
“abolishing of paganism, and establishment of  
“Christianity, and the ecclesiastical constitution,  
“by the respective *Jewish* and Christian Princes†;  
“in fact, their *assumed supremacy* was an *usurpa-*  
“*tion* on men’s natural rights.” That is, according to your lordship, the *Jewish* reformers, and Christian princes, were accomplished villains. But, my lord, were not the *Jews* under a state of theocracy? Was not God himself the immediate ruler and governor of that people? If idolatry was severely punished amongst them; when fallible men are on a level with the Deity, as to knowledge, wisdom, and goodness, then, and not before, let them go and do likewise.—I shall therefore confine myself to an examination of the account you have given as to Christian princes. Were they in fact guilty of *usurping* men’s natural rights?

† Ibid.

rights? Did they *persecute* and *punish* all who could not fall in with the ecclesiastical constitution? Did they *curse* and *excommunicate* those who *disclaimed* all pretensions to infallibility? Did they inflict *pecuniary mulcts*, and encourage oppressive laws? I no longer wonder that your lordship is inspired with such a warm zeal for establishments. And are the high flown pretensions of the hierarchy, in being on a *level with the civil constitution*, founded upon *fraud* and *usurpation*? Your church-dignities and revenues nothing but an *usurpation* upon the rights and properties of subjects? Is your *pay*, (for your prayers are an unknown blessing,) an *established usurpation*, and *establishments* in general, the offspring of craft and delusion? Truth will out, my lord. But I should have been better pleased with this from an infidel or a fanatic's pen than from your lordship's.

I have nothing to object to this honest account given of establishments. But, my lord, must we place in the same view all our church-reformers? Were this true, a religion supported by such *iniquitous* measures may justly *complain of danger*! Hail ye glorious reformers of mankind, from idolatry and superstition, from a spirit of bondage and darkness, ye heaven-born patriarchs of liberty, awake your venerable ashes, and hear yourselves *branded* with the character of *usurpers*! Behold your names prostituted to give sanction to the  
bigotry

bigotry of *weak rulers*, that have been first deluded, and then destroyed by *imperious wicked ecclesiastics* !

But it seems though the reforming princes were guilty of an usurpation on men's natural rights in settling establishments, yet \* “ their subjects, “ notwithstanding any *pretended scruples and rights of conscience*, were obliged to comply with those “ established reformati<sup>o</sup>ns, when they were not “ sinful in themselves, nor contrary to the laws “ of God.” Then it seems, my lord, *usurpations* of natural rights, are neither *sinful* in themselves, nor *repugnant* to divine precepts. The *church* changes the nature of things, converts *willany* into *holy zeal*, and *unchristian usurpations* are made the bulwarks of the *Christian religion*. But admitting usurpations of men's rights, to be as innocent as you apprehend them, (though I am satisfied you will not allow any usurpations on your *lordship's* or the *church's* rights to be of that number) who is to judge whether they are to be submitted to ? have we recourse to any infallible judicature, or is every man to judge for himself ?——It seems, not the latter ; for notwithstanding “ any scruples and “ pretended rights of conscience, men are “ obliged to comply with such establishments and “ reformati<sup>o</sup>ns.” It is allowed, those who fall  
in

\* Charge 1. p. 22.

in with your lordship's scheme, would pretend no scruples, or urge no *right of conscience* to hinder their falling in with *gainful establishments* and *reforms*. But what if a weak man of integrity cannot satisfy himself in prostituting his conscience to the *authority* of the church? if he is oppressed with any doubts which way to chuse instead of making *rational enquiries* into things, has he nothing to do but follow the advice of a *reverend casuist*, *whistle* and *sing*, whilst these *fits of the devil* are upon him? or doth the strength and glory of the church consist in large numbers of *hackney consciences* amongst us, that are to be *lett* to the *best bidder*?

It is true, my lord, " the \* royal supremacy " has been frequently recognized by the legislature, and accordingly sworn to by liege subjects," and by the *clergy too*, " on all proper occasions ;" though with what congruity, your lordship can best tell, if the church be *on a level with the civil constitution itself*, and *independent of it*. Perhaps they put the same construction upon *oaths* as others do upon their *prayers*, and imagine few will take them to be in earnest. I do not represent this as the case of all the sons of the church. But as to those who swear to the *supremacy of the crown*, and yet maintain that the church is on a *level*

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*level with the civil constitution*; I publicly call upon and challenge your lordship to give a more favourable account of their conduct.

The question, with relation to uniformity of worship, is not whether we are obliged to \* submit to the royal supremacy, and the laws of the land, in all matters that are not repugnant to the laws of God; but whether we must cowardly submit to the authority of churchmen, when repugnant to the royal supremacy, the laws of God, and the laws of the land all together? whether we are in duty bound to *bow down and worship our sovereign lords the clergy*?—Whether the *word of God*, or *catholic antiquity* is to be the rule of our faith and conduct? whether there can be any *lawful authority*, any *authority* derived from the *New Testament*, or the *reason of things*, to impose things that are in their own nature *confessedly indifferent*, as *necessary* and *essential* terms of Christian communion? has the church any right to *exclude* those from its ordinances whom God will at last *admit* to his kingdom? whatever sect pretends to this, let it be called a *party-club*, a *cabballing*, *intriguing*, *spiritual faction*, but let it not be called the church of Christ, which is as opposite to it, as light is to darkness.

In

In the following pages, your lordship expatiates on the excellency of the liturgy and government of our church. But are there no *blemishes* in either? would it not have been generous to have pointed these to your clergy, my lord? would it not have discovered greater impartiality to confess that the church is fallible; to reject the *obscure, unintelligible notions* of bungling creed-makers; and allow the bible exclusive of all *priestly appendages and supplemental decorations*, to be a perfect rule of our faith and manners? indeed, your lordship has hinted that the *superior authority* of God, is rather to be obeyed than that of men. That is, I presume, if it happens to coincide with the authority of the church. But, my lord, such hints in *point of prudence*, ought to be cautiously given. In the language of our church, they are of dangerous consequence; and have led men to *apostatise* into the truth.

I must not pass by what your lordship asserts \*,  
 “ that the rights of conscience do by no means  
 “ interfere either with the establishment of an ec-  
 “ clesiastical constitution in general or with the  
 “ present establishment of the church of *England*  
 “ in particular.” I will not charge *your lordship*  
 with absurdity and contradiction. *Mystery* is a  
 more polite and fashionable term. Permit me  
 then

\* Charge 1. p. 27.



then to observe, that it is a *mystery with a vengeance*, how to reconcile this with what you advanced elsewhere, † that “in fact the assumed Supremacy of Christian powers was an usurpation on *mens natural rights*.” Holy, infallible and omnipotent mother! by virtue of thy authority, the reformed religion is damned, as an usurpation of natural rights; and by virtue of the same, to serve a different turn, no establishments whatsoever clash with the rights of conscience, whether it be the establishment of the alcoran, of an inquisition, of the church of *England*, of *Scotland*, or *Geneva*! “If men are persuaded that what is *established* is unlawful, they must *patiently suffer*.” By parity of reason, if men of *importance* utter inconsistencies, others must patiently submit to hear them. But, my Lord, as you are a skillful casuist,——I would be resolved in this; *Job* had *patience* enough to bear the persecutions of the *Devil*, and as some have thought, *worst* of all Devils, the devil of a wife.—But as I cannot embrace that notion I would be informed, would his patience have maintained ground against the persecutions of nonsense? Is not his expostulatory address to his friends justly applicable to all the patrons of *public conscience*, of a cruel oppressive spirit? *Will ye speak wickedly for God? Will you talk deceitfully for him?* ——If men must patiently suffer under establishments which they are persuaded to be *unlawful*,

† Charge 1. p. 21.

unlawful, how will your lordship, upon this footing, vindicate the conduct of our first reformers from popery, who instead of *patiently suffering*, thought it their duty to hazard their lives and fortunes for the effectual accomplishment of a reformation? I have been puzzling myself with *Aristotle*, *Scotus*, and *Aquinas*, in hopes of hammering out some Distinction that might, in this case, have served for an *evasion*; but all without success, and therefore must leave it to your lordship.

It is agreed, that when those who dissent from us, are legally indulged a liberty of conscience\*, “they ought to *thank God* for it;” and I add, *not the Clergy*. But what disturbance can it give the public, for men to propose their sentiments with freedom and honesty, and to attack craft, knavery, and superstition?

It gives me a sensible pleasure, to find it allowed; “that † *secular authority*, and *advantageous places* “are not things *essential* to Religion.” But I suppose, my Lord, you mean no more than that they are not *essential* to it on *both* sides of the question. As we have a right to *differ* from all mankind, but none have a right to *differ* from us; so are not church-wealth and power, things *essential* to religion amongst us, though they bear no manner

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\* Charge 1. p. 27.

† Charge 1. p. 28.

ner of connection with it in other communities and churches?—The reader will observe, what your lordship has asserted \*, that the fate of tithes and Christianity are immediately connected ! that is, to render your lordship consistent, though *tithes* are not *essential* to christianity, yet christianity must *fall* without them. A *christianity* without *tithes* would no more relish with the *sacred* *priesthood*, than a *sermon* without *party-heat*, and *uncharitable language*, *low* and *unmannerly invective*. But supposing it fact, that worldly greatness is not essential to religion ; *Bishops*, my lord, must be brought down on a *level* with *other men*, and without any danger to the church, *christianity* may be rescued from the *scandalous abuse* of one of its most solemn institutions.—But it is observed, that “ the rights of kings and the legislature, “ are a just ballance to the *supposed* rights of “ conscience of private subjects ;” a notable defence of all the craft, villanies, and inquisitorial vengeance of *Romish* priests and prelates !

The rights of conscience, as to private subjects, are *supposed rights*, that is *pretended rights*, without any foundation to support the claim, or in other words, *none* have a *right* to think, who do not think, I will not say according to the direction of the legislature ; but according to the direction of my lords the bishops. But it is further alledged, “ that when rightly explained, the rights of the “ legislature

\* Charge 1. p. 42.

“ legislature and private subjects, do not interfere  
 “ with one another.” If so, when one was fixed  
 on “ as a just ballance to the other,” of conse-  
 quence you have not rightly explained them. But  
 I desist, lest it should be judged *scan. magn.* to  
 dispute the unerringness of your lordship’s judg-  
 ment.

It is urged, “ that in the \* circumstances of di-  
 vine worship, and all indifferent matters, the *au-  
 thority of the legislature* ought surely to prevail  
 over *private* opinions”. What if *private opinions* are  
 agreeable to *reason* and *divine revelation*, ought  
*authority* to prevail over *truth*, and *tyranny* over  
*conscience* ? —By circumstances of worship and  
 indifferent matters, it is presumed you understand,  
 things not *essential* to our future happiness. I must  
 once more call upon you, my lord, to vindicate,  
 upon this footing, the justice and equitableness  
 of our reformation from popery. No men of  
 candour will assert an impossibility of salvation in  
 the *Romish* church and communion. How then,  
 according to your reasoning, can you account for  
 renouncing the *catholic* faith? but with whom  
 ought *authority* to prevail over *private opinions*?  
 not with *honest* men, and give me leave to add, I  
 hope without offence, not with *your lordship*.  
 With persons of integrity and judgment, no *au-*

P 2

thority

*authority* will have any weight, but *that of reason*. *Authority* has been urged with equal zeal on very different occasions. *Authority* for *Arianism*, as strong *authority* against it. And must our principles change as *authority* changes sides? then we no longer worship God, but the times.—We have the *authority* of *fathers* against *fathers*, *councils* against *councils*, and *bishops* against *bishops*. *Authority* has often consecrated error, nursed ignorance, and suppressed truth. *Authority* has made tyrants, *authority* has made slaves, *authority* has made hypocrites, *authority* has made creeds, churches, and Gods; but mere *authority* has seldom propagated virtue, or true religion. Is the legislature infallible, that we should make it our standard, and submit our judgments to its direction? no, that is the sole prerogative, not of unhallowed laics, but of the church and bishops! why then must we recognize public and established opinions? it cannot be always out of deference to truth. I presume then, my lord, it must be for the same reason, as a late eminent divine was induced to serve God towards the east: he that will be a rising man, let him worship the rising sun. The design of civil laws is not to settle orthodoxy, but to punish immoralities, that bear an ill aspect on the welfare of a nation. Neither virtue nor knowledge are the offspring of constraint and power. Were it so, my lord, tyburn officers would

would be as great benefactors to mankind, as the *consecrators* of Christians and churches. But it is to be feared, that though crouds attend both in the execution of their respective offices ; yet neither the *dignity of characters*, nor the *solemnity* of their function, would transfuse knowledge or virtue into the minds of spectators.

Your lordship apprehends \*, that “ the force of religion is weakened by independent schemes and endless divisions.” That is, the liberty of private judgment, which will unavoidably produce, what you call, independent schemes and endless divisions, weakens the force of religion. What an odium doth this cast on the *reformation* ? upon that glorious and memorable *era of British liberty*, the *revolution* ? and upon the illustrious *protestant* family on the throne ? all which have confirmed our right of judging for ourselves, of being led by *reason*, and not by *priests* ; and therefore, according to your *lordship*, have been accessary toward weakening the force of religion ? and what follows, if men are not allowed to think for themselves in matters of faith and religion, tyranny and ignorance will be represented as the parents of virtue, and an *usurping priesthood* become the only proper object of such a devotion ! my lord, you may write *ten thousand* charges against popery,

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declaim.

\*. Charge 1. P. 30.

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claim against its errors and corruptions, and particularly against \* *rival bishops*, that escape with impunity, and yet be far from doing any real service to the protestant cause, whilst these notions are so warmly advanced, and I dare say *sincerely too*, that strike at the very fundamentals of the reformation ! But, in *point of prudence*, to use your lordship's own words, whatever your sentiments may be, you ought, as the times go, to have suppressed this.

It is not likely, that the wise author of nature, ever intended that men should think alike in all speculative matters, otherwise he might have put all truth on a *level* with the *meanest* understandings ; or given all mankind *equal capacities* for judging. Indeed, uniformity in religious principles is not only not to be *expected* ; but not to be *wished for*, under the present circumstances of our nature. Variety of opinions animate men with resolution in making free and vigorous re-searches into things ; they *improve* knowledge, and *cherish* instruction. Besides, as in government one party is a check upon another, and a warm opposition to the measures of those who are of the greatest weight and influence in the senate, *necessitates* them to maintain a *prudent jealousy* over themselves, lest they countenance any transactions that may *justify*  
the

\* See charge against popery, p. 52.

the opposition that is forming against them; and awaken the resentments of a free people. Were it not for such happy struggles, no nation would be safe from being *swallowed up* by the *arbitrariness*, *avarice*, or *ambition* of men of corrupt disposition. So is it the same as to our *religious* disputes and contests. Were it not owing to these, would not *creeds* and *establishments* soon triumph over *sense*, *honesty*, and *conscience*? the only religion *in fashion*, would be on the one side, to *consecrate* tyranny, and on the other to *worship* bondage. Where *free-thinking* has been banished from a country, and *established standards* of orthodoxy settled in its room, *mimicry* has always passed for *virtue*, and *ridiculous errantry* for *divine grace*. Nay, often it has been counted equally *enthusiastic*, to *decry forms of godliness*, and *forms of prayer*, and *puppet-show devotions* have atoned for the want of *rational worship* and *obedience*. But it seems, according to your lordship, to *explode priestcraft* and *superstition*, is to *weaken the force of religion*. If *differences* in sentiments and opinions are so injurious to Christianity, is it not a high reflection upon the supreme being, that he has treated mankind with *different* intellectuals, features, capacities and endowments? is it not a high reflection on the wisdom and goodness of the deity, that we have an *agreeable variety* of cattle in our flocks, of herbs in our fields, and flowers in our gardens?



dens? my lord, if your observation holds good, these must be so many *solecisms in nature*. As for my own part, I think *too kindly* of my maker, to countenance such *extravagant* imaginations. But it is neither my *province* nor *inclination* to make *creeds* for your lordship.

I shall not enter upon the enquiry, whether the episcopal part of our constitution (I presume you mean diocesan episcopacy, my lord) be “as ancient as Christianity itself in this island &c” I have sometimes met with persons who valued themselves upon the character of *orthodox churchmen*, as *orthodox* perhaps, as your lordship, that have asserted our *book of common prayer* to be of much greater antiquity than the bible; and I make no question, but they paid it a greater reverence and esteem. But, my lord, as it cannot give any dignity to the *character of the devil*, that he was a murderer from *the beginning*, so any pleas of antiquity, admitting them to be fact, cannot *justify* error, tyranny, and usurpation.—I therefore pass by your remarks on the constitution of the primitive church, which you have asserted without the expence of any proof, since probably they may be as firmly believed when urged by your lordship, considering your “*distinguishing character*,” without any proof at all.

\* The *Theodosian* code is referred to, as an authority to shew that "the ancient Christians believed that a public contempt of the Christian religion was punishable by human laws." Did Christ and his apostles believe so, my lord? did they teach such doctrines to their followers and disciples, or practise accordingly themselves? why did not the author of our holy faith exert his miraculous power, command the sword, famine, or pestilence, to rage over the universe, and destroy all those who would not submit to his authority, or disputed his mission? why did he not depopulate the earth for the honour of the God of heaven? why did he not punish those *Jewish high-churchmen* that blasphemed his religion, by attributing the miracles he wrought to the power of devils? why did he not countenance his disciples, when they would have called down fire from heaven to consume the heretical *Samaritans*? Nay, why, my lord, did he not erect star-chambers and high-commission courts, establish laws for pecuniary fines and imprisonments, assemble synods and convocations, excommunicate and consign over all those to the mercy of ecclesiastics and the devil, who had honesty enough to examine into things; and resolution enough to publish the result of their enquiries.——But I will

\* See charge 1. p. 320

press this no farther.—It is enough, that he was not advised by your lordship.—I know it has been urged, that projectors seldom accomplish their views, but posterity reaps the sweet fruits of their labours. But, my lord, you will not approve of any reflections so injurious to the character of the *wise and benevolent* author of the Christian religion.

The next remark I shall offer, relates to what you observe \*, that nonconformists “ profess a “ *form of the Christian religion.*” I agree, that in *point of prudence* we ought to reverence moderate conformity to the humours of the church and women. But is there nothing but a *form* of religion amongst those who think otherwise, my lord? do honesty and virtue degenerate into *mere form*, unless they are consecrated by establishments? are love to the Deity, and benevolence to our fellow-creatures of no value unless they have the stamp of *church-orthodoxy* upon them? will you suggest that there are no friends to piety and to mankind among dissenters? in *point of prudence* conceal such sentiments, my lord!

The bishop of *London's codex* is recommended to your clergy †, “ to whom the church of *England* “ is extremely obliged, as on other important occasions, so particularly for that eminent service done “ by him in his most elaborate work, the code “ of

\* See charge 1. p. 33.

† 2. charge p. 35;

“ of the *English* ecclesiastical law; together with his  
 “ very judicious introductory discourse concern-  
 “ ing the present state of the power, discipline,  
 “ and laws of the church of *England*;—a  
 “ work which must be ever considered as a stan-  
 “ dard by all competent judges.” How far I  
 might chime with you in your notions, were I as  
 well paid for defending them as your lordship, I  
 cannot tell: But I must express my own sentiments  
 frankly, perhaps you will urge I have no *interest* in  
 view, and therefore—can be no competent judge  
 of the matter. This celebrated standard has been  
 justly deemed an *insult* upon the laws of the na-  
 tion, and if it escapes the notice of the *legislature*;  
 it must be, because it is *too contemptible* to deserve it.  
 I expect this remark will procure many ecclesiasti-  
 cal *anathema's*; but assure yourself, my lord, I  
 lay no greater stress upon a *pope's curse*, than I do  
 upon a *bishop's blessing*. But allowing this *spiritual*  
*attorney*, all the merit ascribed to him by your  
 lordship,—yet is not the Christian church in ge-  
 neral obliged to him, as well as the church of *Eng-*  
*land*? or has he done no further service to Chri-  
 stianity, than in constituting church-laws, and re-  
 presenting church-power as independent and bound-  
 less.—My lord, I have a greater veneration for  
 our church, than to consider such exorbitant  
 claims as calculated, to give it any real dignity.

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however they may aggrandize its authority. But as there is "scarce honesty enough in the nation, according to your lordship, to save it from downright ruin," no wonder there should be a set of men that are zealous in betraying virtue, as well as a virtue's friends, and all under the specious pretence of acting for the *good of the church*.

It is allowed, the ecclesiastical constitution has "some lesser deficiencies, and if the present age were suitable to so great a work as that of a review, carried on by men of temper and candour, without prejudices and resentment, it might be brought to the highest perfection on the present foundation, that the nature of the thing is capable of †." I must beg leave to expostulate here with your lordship. Is not our national establishment *derived from the primitive church*, p. 31, and yet subject to *lesser deficiencies*? if so, why are we required to pay such an absolute reverence to its dictates and authority? or is that now become a human constitution, which in p. 19, was *divine and heavenly*? but perhaps it will be urged, that it is both *perfectly human*, and *perfectly divine*, like the chimerical existence set forth in a spurious celebrated creed; though like that too, it,

\* See the reasons of the opposition to Dr. Rundle considered, p. 1 charge, p. 36.

it is—neither made nor begotten in the reason of things, but proceeding from foolish inventions. Why is not the present age suitable to so great a work as that of a review? have we no men of candour and temper amongst us! may I be allowed to ask, without any imputation of flattery, what must the world conclude of *your lordship*? what account can be given of the *venerable bench*, and the *whole body of the priesthood*? all hypocrites and bigots.—No, my lord, we have persons of the greatest worth and learning that adorn our church, and do honour to the nation; men that are not *afraid* of espousing the principles of *liberty*, nor *ashamed* of being *honest*. But, perhaps you will urge that these are the very men that bring the church into danger.

But however mean an opinion your lordship may form of ecclesiastics, must the laity be branded with the same marks of ignominy and scandal? shall a *British house of commons* be arraigned as constituted of persons of no honour or integrity,—as tyrants, slaves, or villains?—But I ask pardon, it is the church's *distinguishing character*, to be not only *exempt from*, but *above* all lay-power, and jurisdiction. I appeal to yourself as to this, and humbly propose whether being refused the liberty to confirm in a *certain regal peculiar*, in the county of *Salop*, did not give great, I will not say *just* offence to your lordship? but I wave this, to make  
way

way for a subject more agreeable to your lordship's taste, — the *parochial rights* of *tithes* and *glebe lands*. It is observable, as remarked before, that how contemptible soever the *rights of conscience* and the *Christian church* are treated, *parochial rights* engage your lordship's particular regard. Infidels scoff, and cry if the clergy can but secure their *tithes*, *truth* may shift for herself. However, let tithes and glebes be inviolably preserved : I would not apply to them, what your lordship doth to \* *Christianity*, that they are an usurpation on the rights of mankind. But, my lord, it is an *established opinion*, and I know you highly reverence *notions* that are *established*, that you might have recommended to your *clergy*, many more useful and instructive lessons. But the case stands thus, the loss of a *tithe-pig*, or an *easter-offering*, will make the church *totter*, and *shake* its *mighty* foundations. Any one who takes a view of the numberless vexations and scandalous prosecutions that have from time to time been carried on about small tithes, will agree with me, that to recommend the study of the gospel of peace, would have been much more seasonable, though perhaps not so acceptable, a subject as the study of parochial rights and power. Who knows not that it is safer to trust an orphan to the guardianship of a hungry miser, a man's carcase within the paws of a hungry lion, than to

trust.

\* See Charge 1. p. 21.

trust a weak scrupulous conscience about tithes, to the mercy of a legion of *hungry ravening ecclesiastics*?

But having left the church in full possession of her legal rights, we are next to enquire after her patrimony. There are, it seems, \* “ many impropriations in your lordship’s diocese, and the church’s patrimony has been alienated.” But what church’s, my lord? the church of *England’s* or of *Rome’s*? a protestant or a popish church’s? you will not pretend that impropriations were the patrimony of our mother-church? they never belonged to her; nor can I account, my lord, for your ascertaining a title to them, upon any other footing than this;—That as the church of *Rome* is no more in this land, your lordship lays claim to her possessions by right of inheritance, as being next of kin. But, notwithstanding your “ *distinguishing character*,” and the *divinity* of uninterrupted succession, the *entail* is cut off, to your disappointment, my lord.

Why are not the like complaints ushered, that *infallibility* has been disclaimed and rejected? your lordship’s pretensions may hold equally strong as to both. It is almost needless to remark, that this glorious patrimony was the fruit of *ecclesiastical knavery* and *oppression*. The priests enriched themselves

\* Charge 1. p. 38.



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themselves upon the *spoils* of honesty and virtue, compounded with *assassins*, *cut-throats*, or *robbers*, to pardon all their sins for a rich legacy to the church; and thus the *reverend deceivers* soon found trafficking in salvation to be a gainful trade, as the polite Dr. Young has expressed it.

——Dying sinners, to blot out their score,  
Bequeathed the church the leavings of a whore.  
Universal Passion.

The alienation of what your lordship calls the patrimony of the church, is well known to be the main pillar of the reformation. And would you propose that all the lands engrossed by the church before the time of King *Henry VIII.* should be restored to it again? be *consistent*, my lord, though we disclaim *popish superstitions*, stand up for an *English infallibility*, and courts of inquisition, and establish an hierarchy, resembling that of *Rome* in all its scenes of *pompous villany* and *horrors*. Let the church's patrimony be appropriated to the original intention. Let the clergy enjoy all the *lands and ladies* in *Great-Britain*; and as to *honesty* and *conscience*, let them take their fate! none can judge this representation to be foreign to what you have advanced, if it is compared with  
what.

what follows, that it is *absolutely necessary*, to preserve and defend small tithes. How *absolutely necessary*, my lord? doth the happiness of mankind, the growth of virtue and knowledge, depend upon an oppressive exactness in collecting of tithes? be the *subsistence* of vicars dependent upon them, yet, my lord, *christianity* may *subsist* without them. If impropriations are the patrimony of the church, then of consequence the legislature concerned in such alienation, were guilty of notorious sacrilege and high-treason against the clergy, in robbing them of their consecrated dues.——But I forbear.—— It is enough that your lordship disapproves of the doctrines of the *Romish* church as *unsound* and *heterodox*; yet it seems there is a deal of *orthodoxy* in her treasures. Permit me to enquire, my lord, what kept the world so long in *awful ignorance* and *darkness*? was it not the patrimony of the church? what has been the *parent* of *bigotry*, and *nursed superstition* throughout many successive ages? what has been the *foundation* of *priestcraft*, *idolatry*, and *error*? what has made *light darkness*, and *good evil*? still this *solemn thing*, the patrimony of the church, my lord. What has made *liberty unfashionable*, and *mobs venerable and sacred*?—— Is it not the patrimony of the church, that gave birth to all this, my lord?

But may it please you, to consider, how foreign those instructions are to those delivered by Christ  
and

and his apostles? and yet, notwithstanding all this, a church, without patrimony, in your lordship's estimation, like a fair lady without fortune, loses all her charms: and in both cases alike, neither to be wedded for her engaging accomplishments, but for the sake of profuse wealth and dowry.—However, admitting it *absolutely necessary* to preserve tithes, yet I believe few will imagine it *absolutely necessary* to inculcate this upon the minds of the clergy. Nay, my lord, many think it *absolutely necessary* to have laws enacted to restrain your *little ecclesiastical pettyfoggers* from carrying on litigious and scandalous prosecutions. will your lordship recommend the conduct of an *apostate angel*, to the imitation of the sacred priesthood, and call upon them to cast men into § prison? are *augmentation offices*, my lord, the great charters of our faith and worship? or are these the *divinities in fashion*, and as such worshipped by a set of men, whose *distinguishing character* is (for surely we may believe your lordship) on all other occasions, to expect adoration paid to themselves †?

I shall make no remarks on what is hinted by your lordship relating to church-donations. The legislature has wisely checked the progress of all priestly juggling and imposture from this quarter, and put an end to the churches being pampered with the heritage of oppressions!—But amongst  
all

all the curious reflections that both your lordship's charges abound with, nothing surprizes me so much, as to see it asserted by a *divine*, a *bishop* of our church ‡, that the times are so *extreamly bad* that there is *scarce honesty enough* left to save the nation from *downright ruin*. The highest compliment I can bestow upon this occasion, is, that you were not *in earnest* when you delivered this. However, let us examine into the matter. As the *spiritual commissioners*, (I will not say of trade, for that would be sinking them into a level with the governors of other societies, amongst whom I hope *the principles† of honesty are common*) but as the *spiritual commissioners* of heaven claim our highest regard, we will begin our remarks there. What will your lordship represent the whole body of the clergy to be? what will become of the whole *cavalry* of the church, archbishops, bishops and deans; prebends, archdeacons, vicars, apparitors, and curates? have they done nothing to promote the interest of virtue? or have they corrupted the world, palmed superstition on mankind for religion, and mimicry for christian worship? are all their pretensions to piety only priestcraft and hypocrisy? and doth the matter in fact stand thus, that there is *little honesty* amongst them? is their *zeal* for the church, their

*solemn*

‡ 1 Charge. p. 41.

† See 2 Charge, p. 58.

*solemn subscriptions* to its articles, their lifting themselves into its service, only the offspring of self-interest? what regard can kings pay to their *oaths*, the *laity* to their *preaching*, and the *world* to their *function*, if their *distinguishing character* be this, that there is *scarce any honesty* amongst them? what are all the outward appearances of devotion, fasting, and prayer, by which our church is eminently distinguished? is there nothing in all this, my lord, but a trick of the priest to get money? are they only *devout* out of *knavery*, and do they worship the Almighty not for *grace* but *gold*? if so, of what mighty importance are *fulsome panegyrics*, on the sanctity of national churches? a *commissioned priesthood* that doth not reform the world, is a *disgrace* to christianity, and an *insult* upon common sense. Wherever *solemn cheats* are imposed upon the public, and virtually confessed to be of no service to the country, it is a blessing to have such rogueries detected, and it is a piece of justice to punish the *abettors* of them, as so many strolling conjurers and vagrants. A church without *honesty*, like a prostitute without *shame* or *virtue*, may betray innocence and seduce multitudes into ruin, but can never be useful to any state or nation. However, these are the natural and just consequences of the principles laid down by your lordship, that there is scarce “ honesty  
“ enough in the nation to save it from downright  
“ ruin

"ruin." It is allowed, there will be knaves and fools in all professions. However I must differ from you, my lord, and maintain that we have many excellent and learned divines belonging to our church, whose characters and accomplishments are as illustrious as their stations. I could give a catalogue, but I know it would offend your lordship's modesty to be inserted amongst them, and therefore shall decline the task.—In the next place, in what views must the *English* laity be painted? I must repeat the question. Must the majority of a *British house of commons* be stigmatized as men of no honesty? are the guardians of our liberties, the gentry of the nation, enemies to truth and virtue? are there not thousands and ten thousands in this kingdom, in lower spheres of life, who behave very worthily in their stations? yes, my lord, we have plowmen, that in their capacity are as serviceable to their country, as bishops? ———I am apprized, my lord, it is the *fashion* to deem all those *infidels* who cannot see the reasonableness of high churchmen's opinions; yet I am so weak as to believe the times are not so bad as your lordship represents them. I cannot pretend to form a judgment what character *that part of mankind* deserves, which your lordship is most conversant with; but shall still maintain this, that there is more honesty in the nation now, than in former ages, when *ecclesiastics*

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*fiastics* were our rulers, and when *tyranny* was *licensed* from the throne. However, I am sorry that a person of your lordship's character and reputation has the misfortune, according to your own account, to be acquainted with few\*\*\*\* but such as are—abandoned miscreants and villains.

I must confess, my lord, when I have heard some *rigid fanatics* of different denominations, pouring out their spleen and invectives against nature, urging that their iniquities were entailed upon them by their fathers; and not only that they were *knaves*, which perhaps none ever disputed, but that they were *knaves* by *their very extraction*; it has given me a very mean idea of the abettors of such principles and notions. I cannot conceive why such *dishonourable* and *low* sentiments should be entertained of human nature, unless it be that the authors of them have conversed among the lowest part of their species; or otherwise are persons of no virtue or character themselves. It is natural enough to form an opinion of others from those dispositions that are most prevalent and commanding in ourselves.—It cannot be imagined, that this latter should be the case as to your lordship.

But, my lord, as the hard name of infidels and heretics have been oft awkwardly applied to discountenance free enquiries into truth, so many will judge, that it is no more than an artful bugbear, to suggest that there is scarce any honesty  
in

in the nation. Your lordship will not presume to deny that we have wise governors and rulers: the laity no longer hug their chains: they dare think for themselves, without soliciting leave of the clergy. But perhaps it might be your lordship's opinion that it is owing to *want of honesty*, that *laymen* ever think at all. It is their duty not to puzzle themselves with reason, but to obey their spiritual guides, and implicitly submit to their directions.

The danger of the church calls afresh for our regard\*, “the tithe-bill, and what is connected with it, the fate of the Christian religion,” should awaken our fears, and alarm all our passions.—It is well known that *tacking bills* have been as fashionable as scandalous in the state, and now it seems something of the same nature must be introduced into religion. *The tithe bill* and the *fate of Christianity connected!* wherein doth *Christianity* consist? is it not in reverence to the deity, in social virtue and goodness? and cannot these subsist without *tithes*, nay, without *any priesthood* at all? in primitive times there were no stipends annexed to preaching, and yet Christianity triumphed over *high-church priests* and *heathenism*, and made a victorious progress. But has it gained ground proportionable to the increase of church-wealth

\* Charge 1. p. 42.



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wealth and power? the very reverse, my lord. When Christian priests became pampered with pride and luxury, and grew insolent in tyranny, religion starved, and piety lost ground in proportion. It is observable, as the immortal *Milton* has expressed it; “that so long as the church, in true  
 “imitation of Christ, can be content to ride upon  
 “an ass, carrying herself and her Government  
 “along in a mean and simple guise, she may be,  
 “as he is, a lion of the tribe of *Judah*, and in her  
 “humility, all men with loud *Hosannahs* will  
 “confess her greatness; but when, despising the  
 “mighty operation of the spirit by the weak  
 “things of this world, she thinks to make her-  
 “self bigger and more considerable, by using the  
 “way of civil force and jurisdiction, as she sits  
 “upon this lion she changes into an ass, and  
 “instead of *Hosannahs*, every man pelts her with  
 “stones and dirt.” And indeed, to be plain, my lord, though men of consecrated character have the privilege to say what they please, yet should laymen ever represent the church as *independent of all secular authority*, they would be deemed *accomplished asses*, were it not—that they are in danger of *losing their ears*!

“\*The important out-works of our ecclesiastical  
 “establishment, the *corporation* and *test-acts*,”

next

next open to our view. I never fully discovered the reason before, why our church is always in danger. In danger it will be always, my lord, unless fixed upon a more solid basis and foundation. It is an undutiful reflection from a son of the church, that has been nursed with tenderness in her bosom, and shared in her choicest blessings, to suggest that she cannot maintain her ground without invading the rights of mankind. Is the authority of the church to be supported not by dint of reason, but by oppressive tyrannical power? Mahometism and Popery will of course rival her in all her glories. My lord, it is beneath the character of a wise master builder to insinuate, that *church-architecture* is never safe without such *political scaffolds* and buttresses to erect and support it. Will your lordship confess no divinity but power, and pay homage to no God but that of riches? why so much bustle then about the *sanctity* of church-rights? your lordship has cleared up the matter. *Sampson's riddle*, when applied to this, carries along with it no *mystery* at all. Out of the  *eater* comes forth *meat*, and out of the *strong* comes forth *sweetness*.

But, my lord, are these *important out-works* of the establishment, of any importance in recommending virtue and Christian sincerity? how preposterous would such a declaration as this appear! — I solemnly commemorate the sufferings of my  
VOL. I. Q redeemer,

redeemer, with a view not to improve my morals, but to be qualified for a post—in the church or army. No wonder, my lord, if infidels ridicule Christianity, when church men themselves thus avowedly blaspheme one of its most solemn institutions: It is shocking to see such flagrant and scandalous wickedness encouraged. But I have so great a veneration for the orthodox sons of the church, that I would not put such an affront upon their honesty, as to imagine that they are sincere, when they represent the receiving the eucharist, as a duty of great solemnity and importance. Did they *believe* this, they would at least rival the piety of—your lordship can tell whom, and *tremble* at such an infamous prostitution of it, to serve ambitious and worldly views. The corporation and test-acts are the *important out-works of the establishment* in the same sense as racks, inquisitions, the doctrines of infallibility, penances, pilgrimages, and absolutions, are the *important out-works* of another communion. They are calculated to establish craft, to give sanction to superstition, and raise up a kingdom of tyrannical priests upon the *ruins of Christ's church and Kingdom*.

I leave your lordship to give a full loose to your pathetic visionary fears, in the succeeding pages, concerning the distress and danger of the church. Lord pity the miserable creature that  
has

has lain under such bitter anguish and affliction. Restore health, ignorance, and infallibility amongst all her sons. Propagate tyranny, establish confusion in the land. Let liberty sicken, let virtue die, and the church will for ever live and reign in peace. Let your lordship say *amen* to this, and let all good churchmen bless you, and those of your lordships principles, as the Saviour of their church and nation.

As \* *Pamela's* address to an heathen deity, was canonized by the adoption of the *royal martyr*; so I make no question, if this prayer should be adopted by *your lordship*, but that it would be counted orthodox, not only by all *your friends*, but likewise by all the *professed enemies* to his present majesty's government and administration. To shew with what propriety it may be used by you, I shall transcribe at length a few passages that contain a lively image of your lordship's zeal for the church †.

“ At so critical a juncture, when common Chri-  
 “ stianity is treated with an avowed contempt  
 “ and open prophaneness; when an undisguised  
 “ immorality prevails so very generally; when  
 “ there is scarce honesty enough left to save the  
 Q 2 “ nation

\* A prayer used by an imaginary Lady, in Sir P. S. *Arcadia*, and used by King C. as his own, in the famous *Biken Basilisks*.

† Charge 1. p. 41.

“ nation from downright ruin; when, with re-  
 “ gard to the established church in particular,  
 “ the royal supremacy, is professedly exposed as  
 “ inconsistent with the rights of conscience, even  
 “ that supremacy, which was the ground-work  
 “ of the reformation among us from popery,  
 “ which was acknowledged and sworn to by the  
 “ old *puritans* themselves, though now inconsist-  
 “ ently enough disowned and condemned in the  
 “ new history and vindication of them and their  
 “ principles; and that too, after a toleration had  
 “ been allowed to the present dissenters, which  
 “ was not to the *puritans*; when so destructive an  
 “ attempt has been made on the legal mainten-  
 “ ance of the clergy, as the late tithe-bill, and  
 “ consequently on the subsistence of the priest-  
 “ hood, and what is connected with it, I mean,  
 “ the fate of the Christian religion amongst us;  
 “ when an attack has been so lately made on the  
 “ important out-works of our ecclesiastical esta-  
 “ blishment, the corporation and test-acts,  
 “ with the greatest insolence toward the esta-  
 “ blished church, and most undutiful menaces of  
 “ the civil government, in the controversial pam-  
 “ phlets on that subject; when, under the solemn  
 “ pretence of reforming the abuses of the ecclesi-  
 “ astical courts, all episcopal authority has so  
 “ lately been well-nigh undermined, or rather cut  
 “ up by the roots, in that scheme of reforma-  
 “ tion,

tion, as it was originally formed: and if that  
order had been rendered useless, as no doubt  
it would have been, though when stripped of all  
authority, it is natural to infer, that the reve-  
nues of it would have been soon thought useless  
too, to men deprived of all real authority;  
and that therefore the order itself, in result  
of things, might have been considered as super-  
fluous, and perhaps in due time, thought fit  
to be abolished as insignificant: when, again,  
churches themselves, the great instruments of  
preserving some sense of religion among us,  
have lately been put in such a method of repairs,  
as probably would have ended in the irretrievable  
ruin of the greater part of them in no long  
period of time: when, likewise, the correction  
of abuses of matrimonial licences is well  
known to have been laboured in so absurd a  
manner, as to have permitted the marriage of  
minors of each sex, without the consent of their  
parents or guardians; though the late pretended  
reformation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, was  
originally founded on an irregular marriage,  
and an absurd licence: when, once more,  
to compleat so bad a prospect, the proposed re-  
formation of episcopal jurisdiction, has derived  
its origin from some persons that have professed  
no small zeal for the church of *England*, but  
who have not disdained to copy after the avowed  
Q 3      “adversaries

“ adversaries of the church, in the beginning of  
 “ the times of confusion: when the melancholly  
 “ circumstances, I say, have so lately concurred,  
 “ (the consequences of which, are not perhaps, so  
 “ generally understood by the parochial clergy,  
 “ in parts remote from the great scene of business,  
 “ as they ought to be) it is natural to infer from  
 “ the whole, that our zeal for the established  
 “ church, ought to bear a just proportion to the  
 “ danger of its present situation; as likewise,  
 “ its constitution, in consequence of the most  
 “ diligent enquiries into the grounds and founda-  
 “ tion of it. If these are not proper occasions for  
 “ zeal for our ecclesiastical constitution, it is not  
 “ easy to assign circumstances that may justly de-  
 “ mand it.”

Surely, my lord, *Cain's curse* has been entailed  
 upon the church in these latter ages.—Every one  
 that finds me will *slay* me.—I will not pretend  
 to say, that it is for the same reason, because it de-  
 lights in bloodshed and lordly lawless jurisdiction,  
 where it has no right to exert any authority at all.  
 But, my lord, it may be neither uninstruative nor  
 unentertaining, to take a view how this *ecclesiasti-  
 cal shuttle-cock*, the danger of the church, has been  
 played about on different and repeated occasions.  
 The danger of the church was warmly urged to  
 bring the glorious revolution into disgrace; the  
 danger of the church was pleaded against the act  
 of

of toleration, for weak and scrupulous consciences.—The danger of the church was likewise the foundation of the schism-bill; the danger of the church betrayed the brave *Catalans*, and patched up the scandalous peace of *Utrecht*.—The danger of the church was at the head of the *Preslon* rebellion; and the danger of this tottering unweildy fabric has nursed all the rude insolencies offered to his present majesty's government, whom may God long preserve. About the thirtieth of *January* the church is yearly in more imminent danger, as has been observed by Sir *Richard Steele*, in his incomparable *letter to the Pope*\*. A *treatise* I would recommend to the frequent and diligent perusal of your lordship. But one would think, from the continuance of that *anniversary*, that God almighty pays but small regards to the cries and prayers of the church, and that the priests, whatever interest they may have on earth, have but little in heaven; inasmuch that they have been praying near a hundred years, for the forgiveness of one sin, and yet by God, as well as men, unforgiven still; for solemn *party rage*, and *party prayers*, are yet annually observed on the occasion.

In the year 1705, the complaints of the danger of the church spread abroad to distract the kingdom with unreasonable and groundless distrusts and jealousies, incurr'd a severe censure from the

Q 4

legislature

\* The letter here referred to, was written by Dr. *Hoadly*, late Bishop of *Winchester*.



legislature of the nation, and "it was resolved, by the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament assembled, that the church of England, as by law established, which was rescued from the extremest danger, by King William the third, of glorious memory, is now, by God's blessing, under the happy reign of her present majesty, in a most safe and flourishing condition; and that whosoever goes about to suggest the church is in danger under her majesty's administration, is an enemy to the queen, the church, and the kingdom."—— You dare not suggest, my lord, but that our present gracious sovereign, is as cordial and sincere a friend to the church as the late Queen Anne. Should your lordship's outcries therefore, of the church's danger, be deemed worthy of parliamentary notice, must you not expect in parliamentary language, to be marked out as an *enemy* to his majesty, the church, and the kingdom? would you not be attainted with *propagating* faction, and *promoting* unreasonable and groundless distrusts and jealousies among the king's liege subjects? is this the commission, my lord, that you have been entrusted with from heaven? or this the *distinguishing character* which is your boasted claim? if so, let it be despised, let it be unenvied, but let it never be imitated by any true protestants, or any sincere  
 lovers

lovers of their country. According to your lordship, it is dangerous to attempt any further reformati-  
ons in the church, though you acknowledge such reformati-  
ons are wanting. You allow there are lesser deficiencies in our ecclesiastical constitution, and yet the remedying of these ought not to be attempted. Such inconsistent, innovating schemes can never do honour to Christianity; and though they may take with the besotted part of the nation, such as are enthusiasts for craft and power, yet they will meet with a juster fate from all men of sound reason and sober understandings.

I find it is asserted by your lordship, “ that the  
“ *professed friends* of the church, are entering into a  
“ conspiracy against it”. I cannot appropriate the honour of this remark, solely to your lordship.—I have oft heard as much from a *tumultuous rabble* at country elections \*. “ Some  
“ persons that have professed no small zeal for the  
“ church of *England*, have not disdained to copy after the *avowed adversaries* of the church, in the  
“ beginning of the times of confusion”. Who were those *avowed adversaries*, my lord? *Hampden* and other illustrious patriots, whose names will engage a grateful reverence, when little pamphleteers, that deal about *common-place* rage and invective, will be either despised or forgotten.

Q 5

It:

It is said by your lordship, "foreign protestants are not to be molested, but our dissenting protestants \* at home, demand a very different conduct." That is, according to your lordship, as we differ from them in our notions concerning the importance of ceremonies, and the piety of impositions, so neither ought we to be united with them in an amicable intercourse, and charitable sentiments as to other matters. Let our charity towards them extend no further than we are directed by self-interest and advantage. Let them be painted as so many monsters in nature, Represent them in the same views as infidels do high-churchmen, a pack of knaves and enthusiasts. "But, † in point of prudence, says your lordship, let us not give any just suspicions of our disgust to the legal toleration of them." In point of prudence, is this the highest pitch of your lordship's charity and religion? are your lordship's regards for Christianity asleep? or are the divine rights of tithes and episcopacy, the only essentials of your lordship's faith? in point of prudence, we are not to appear open advocates for persecution.—The times will not bear this. —The church is sick and in danger, for we have a protestant prince on the throne, who will not be jockeyed by ecclesiastics out of the affections and liberties

\* Charge 1. p. 46.

† Ibid.

liberties of his subjects.—In *point of prudence*, we must sit easy under these *melancholy* circumstances, and not attempt to crush those whom the *legislature* believes to be our *fellow creatures*. But, my lord, it requires no great degree of saintship to prophesy, what would be their *fate*, were it left to your lordship's *charitable decision*. Were it *prudential*, you would readily concur in the good work of *cur-sing* and *dragooning* these *heretics* into their right minds. Were it *prudential*, the act de *Hæretico comburendo* should be publicly defended, and *Smithfield flames* should never *sleep or die*. I would gladly be informed, whether *prudentials* constitute the whole of your lordship's religion? whether our *loyalty*, like our *charity*, is to be carried on in *point of prudence*, my lord? whether it be not in *point of prudence*, only, that you swear *allegiance* to the king, and acknowledge the *royal supremacy*.—I would likewise submit it to your lordship's judicious determination, whether *points of virtue*, of *honesty*, of *conscience*, ought to pay homage to *points of prudence*, or not? but perhaps your lordship may not think it a *point of prudence*, to give a determinate answer to this. In *point of prudence*, “ we are not to give any just suspicions, that we  
“ envy or grudge them that indulgence allowed  
“ them, of worshipping God after their own man-  
“ ner, and of enjoying without disturbance, the  
“ dictates of their own consciences.” I find, my  
Q 6 lord,

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lord, our dissenting protestants are just as much indebted to your lordship, as good Christians are to him whose *distinguishing character* is, that he seeks whom he may devour. They are in no danger from him, because—he is not in a capacity to hurt or destroy them. In *point of prudence*, we are not to *hang* or *burn* them for saying their prayers, though *our assiduity* in collecting *church tithes*, should allow us no time to *pray* ourselves. But if they destroy establishments, were it in our power, vengeance and blood should pursue them! let the *sword* be girt on, and *sheath* it in their gore and bowels! these are the natural consequences of your lordship's zeal.

But, it seems, they are so fond of power, or posts of authority, as to labour at breaking down the fences of the established church, and thereby place themselves on a level with the national establishment, on occasion of merely secular matters that are confessedly foreign to our religious pretensions \*. How can Christianity suffer if those fences were broken down, that your lordship acknowledges to be of no importance to religion? but, it seems, lusts after power and posts of authority, though foreign to *religious pretensions*, yet are so far from being *foreign*, that they are *essential* to the character of a *good churchman*.

Though.

Though weak *fanatics* may discover an avowed contempt of secular matters, when they stand in competition with their duty, yet I am still willing to believe, that you will not admit secular matters to be foreign to *your lordship's religious pretensions*. The reader will agree with me, when he reflects on what you have asserted on *tithe-bills* and the *fate of Christianity*, being immediately and necessarily connected. According to this, the property of the Almighty ought to be transferred to his *viceroyants*, the *earth*, and the *fullness thereof*, should be no longer the *lord's*, but the *clergy's*.

How far the government "has exerted itself in quashing the *tithe bill* and *corporation* and *test-acts*," is none of my business to consider. If in fact it be so, I presume, my lord, they do not think themselves much obliged to you for the discovery; and perhaps they would not, in *point of prudence*, trust your lordship with a *secret*, as soon as a *translation*.

"Our zeal for the constitution of the national church, ought to be accompanied with charity toward those who unhappily dissent from it:" yes, in *point of prudence*, my lord, I shall not enter into the reason that obliged your lordship to take notice of the innovation complained of in your diocese, with reference to the burial of the baptized:

ized children of protestant dissenters \*. Nor shall I, at this time, take upon me to enquire whether baptism was intended as a standing dispensation in the Christian church, or was to be of temporary duration. This is obvious to all, that the commission given the apostles to baptize, extended no further than to themselves. *I will be with you to the end of the world.* Will any one pretend that God Almighty has always been with the priesthood, or that he has danced attendance upon a corrupt tyrannical clergy? this is certain, my lord, that baptism has oft been represented more like a charm, than a rational useful institution. Some time ago, an orthodox divine in your lordship's diocese too, administering private baptism to an infant, the water was brought in a wooden bowl. The ceremony being concluded, the reverend enthusiast took occasion to address the parent in the following manner: sir, you are to understand, this bowl has been consecrated by virtue of my priestly authority and function. It would be sacrilege to defile it for any vulgar use and service, and therefore, by way of prevention, I take the liberty to burn it. Accordingly he disposed of the wooden idol and warmed himself by the fire his zeal had kindled. I presume, my lord, had it been a silver bowl, he would have acted with a still greater.

\* Charge 1. p. 49.

greater holy caution, and to preserve it from pollution, would have taken the liberty to have *appropriated* it to *himself*, as a sacred treasure appertaining to the church.—I mention this, in *honour* of your lordship, to shew that the zeal you recommend for the church, has not been lost upon your clergy.

Having considered many specimens of your lordship's zeal, we are now arrived at *one* instance of your charity. It is granted by you, that baptized dissenters are—Christians. But what are we to understand by their being Christians at large? are they possessed of more generous catholic principles, or a more benevolent character than those who belong to our church and communion? or doth your lordship mean, that they are the dross of nature, and the refuse of the world. I promise to see this explained by your lordship, in a key to your charge, whenever the world is favoured with a second edition of it.—You have entred into some particulars, to contribute to set scrupulous clergymen right. But this is to be effected in a more compendious way, than by dint of reasoning and persuasion; a *scarf*, a *ring*, and a *funeral sermon*, is an approved and infallible remedy, my lord, to remove the scruples of all *conscientious* *vicars*, *curates*, or *bishops*, concerning the lawfulness of burying protestant dissenters in consecrated clay,



clay. I flatter myself, that this prescription will not fail of *your lordship's* favourable recommendation.

I have the pleasure to agree with you, my lord, that all encomiums of our ecclesiastical constitution, are vain and insignificant things, unless we shew the great advantage of it in the influence it has on our lives and conversations. It doth not necessarily follow, that the sons of the church are *heirs* of heaven, because they *inherit* a great part of the *wealth* and *power* of the nation. Zeal for a hierarchy, is not always attended with common honesty, much less is it an infallible token of divine grace. Nor doth it follow, that because our names are enrolled in the register, that therefore they are writ in the book of life. Your lordship well knows that consecrated bricks, clay, and timber have been the *idol-divinities* of modern times. Episcopal benedictions have made stocks and stones as wise and holy, as those who bestowed the blessing upon them. A *religious reverence* has been paid to beings that have neither eyes to see, ears to hear, nor hearts to conceive; and not only they who *worship*, but they who *canonized* *them*, have been like unto them, and so is *every one* that *trusteth* in them. But, my lord, I would gladly be informed, whether the beauty of holiness can consist in things that have neither beauty nor holiness in them. As it is the *people* that constitutes the *church*, so it is a *good people* that makes a *good church*, a *people orthodox in their lives*, that  
makes

makes an *orthodox church*; though a lowfottish profligate deportment, is an *essential characteristic* of an *infallible church*; and whilst the glorious pillars of it are sober enough to *stand* upon their own limbs, their church will be in danger of *falling*. Where such a spirit prevails, Christianity must languish under its malignant and baneful influence. We may as soon expect the *devil* to turn *moralist*, or a *miser* to be *charitable* and *honest*, as hope that a *priesthood* should *reform* the world, that are themselves *professed enemies* to the *principles* of *liberty* and *reformation*. The most elevated pretensions to *sanctity*, unless adorned by a suitable conduct, like the charms of a common prostitute, lose all their beauty and force.

Rather, therefore, my lord; than *consecrate* tyranny with an *air of devotion*; rather than adopt *unchristian* usurpations into our excellent church; rather than *metamorphose* the clergy into harpies, exert your zeal in recommending moral virtue, benevolence and charity, to their choice and esteem. Let the language of the pulpit be peace and truth. Set an example before your brethren, first, to preach, and next of all, to preach not themselves, but—Christ Jesus. Convince them, my lord, that it will give a greater *dignity* to their character, to be ministers of righteousness, than to be the *pimps* of a faction, the *lacqueys* of infallibility, and the *promoters* of strife and wrath. But your lordship is no friend to *innovations* in the church.

church, and therefore possibly may reject all this.

Many have been deemed enemies to the church, for no other reason, in the opinion of fallible men, than their attachment to uncorrupt Christianity; and infidels have thought, that more have incurred the censure of *ecclesiastical damnation* for their honesty, than for their want of grace. It is *possible*, nay, it is *common* to be a good churchman, without ever attending the services of the church at all; and yet an *apostate* from the church, has been counted a more dreadful hydra, than an *apostate* from grace and goodness. I am led to these reflections, by what your lordship observes, that your adversaries, that is, as you have explained yourself, those who dissent from us, are gone off from that *outward appearance* of sanctity, and severity of morals, with which those of their party first set out, and *varnished* over the cause of *puritanism*, and the subsequent separation. If this remark shews any thing, besides weakness and malice, it must be this,—that an *outward appearance* of sanctity, a *mere varnish* of piety, is all that your lordship thinks necessary to recommend to your clergy. But, my lord, doth it not betray the most accomplished partiality, that severity of morals should, on all former occasions, be represented by men of your lordship's principles, as fanaticism and enthusiasm, and that the refinements of that  
party

party should now be arraigned, as proceeding from want of zeal.

I must not forget to take notice of your lordship's charitable disposition, in treating all those as *your adversaries*, who entertain any notions different from those which are established. Instead of saying we are brethren, why should we fall out by the way? It is thought proper to kindle men's passions against them, and make them *easier sacrifices* to the *zeal* and *devotion* of a mob. But, my lord, why are they counted adversaries? do they hate bishops?—No, they wish we had many more that—would be wise, faithful and honest. Do they declare against Christianity?—No, they confess the bible to be the only infallible rule and standard! do they decry a ministry in the church?—No, they oppose only those who would lord it over God's heritage, and claim dominion over their faith. Do their clergy swear allegiance to the king, and as under God, the *supreme ruler of the church*; and yet place themselves *on a level* with the *civil constitution* itself; nay, *independent* of all secular authority?—No, they have appeared hearty friends to the protestant government and succession, without equivocation, and without reserve; and, which is more, without any prospect of raising themselves to any episcopal dignities or honours! can these be your reasons, why they  
are

are treated as your adversaries, my lord ? I leave your lordship to determine this.—

I pass by your complaints of the ill morals and infidelity of the age, as having been already considered, and proceed to consider the characters you attribute to the clergy \*. —They are Christ's ambassadors.—It is with pleasure I express the high veneration I owe to worthy and learned clergymen, such as appear to be persons of candor, knowledge and integrity ; and such there be, who are an ornament to human nature. But in general, are not those who profess themselves ministers of the Christian dispensation, subject to like passions with others, as covetous, as tyrannical, as immoral, and as ignorant as others ? are these Christ's ambassadors ? as for my part, I entertain a higher notion of the author of the Christian religion, than to believe that he would intrust either fools or knaves with a solemn embassy and commission, not to mention that those whom your lordship represents as the *ambassadors of Christ*, and consequently of *love and peace*, have frequently been the *promoters of discord*, and the *heralds of wrath and destruction*. Are they watchmen ?—Let them watch over *souls* as well as *tithes* ! and let them pray not for wealth, which is a blessing they enjoy in common with the rest of mankind, but for  
truth

\*. Charge 2. p. 55.

truth and grace ! are they *shepherds* ?—Let them feed as well as *sheer* their flocks, and let them not turn a house of prayers into a den of thieves, and gull men of their fortunes and understandings together ! have they spiritual powers that are in *their own nature distinct from, and independent* of all civil authority ?—Let them produce their credentials ! who would have imagined *Hicks, Atterbury, Sacheverel, and Woolston*, to have been the commissioners of heaven ? but perhaps the last *forfeited his commission*, by writing against your lordship ; by declaring, that he loved and honoured the whole royal family, and that he prayed for them *without pay* ; which, if we may believe an *infidel*, is more than any bishop in the kingdom doth.

It seems, they are likewise the \* *successors of the apostles* ;—some have thought them to be an illegitimate brood, that have no traces of their pretended fathers features ; and though I cannot say they work for their livelihood, yet like many more of their fraternity, they are obliged to the parish for a maintenance ; or otherwise obtain *pensions* for keeping out of it, and residing any where but where their duty calls them.

However, I must not omit transcribing a few paragraphs which have been already referred to, that

\* Charge a. p. 54, 55.

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that may give further light into this matter. —  
 “ \* Agreeable to the spiritual commission, we  
 “ have received from our *great master himself*, by  
 “ the *succession* of his appointed church officers,  
 “ in so many ages, and by vindicating on all *pro-*  
 “ *per occasions*, those spiritual powers that have  
 “ been so derived, as in their own nature *distinct*  
 “ *from*, and *independent* of all secular authority.  
 “ These we find are maligned by persons that  
 “ either have no *just sense* of any religion, or that  
 “ have no *pretence* to those powers by *succession*,  
 “ nor indeed by any thing but an *ill-founded*, and  
 “ frequently an *enthusiastical* call ; and therefore  
 “ no wonder they are so exasperated against us,  
 “ when we *refuse* to give up our *distinguishing cha-*  
 “ *rafter*, and *sink* ourselves into a *level* with them.  
 “ The *sceptical writers* on this subject, pretend  
 “ that we have derived our spiritual commission,  
 “ through the *impure canal*, as they call it, of the  
 “ church of *Rome*, and therefore betray a strong  
 “ disposition to invalidate our orders.” I would  
 gladly be informed, my lord, what these rights  
 of succession are founded upon—I doubt it will  
 appear to be according to firebrand *Tartuffe’s* ac-  
 count of the matter, the instrument of their power  
 being thrown by *Phaeton*\*— I have

• Ibid

•• Into the sea, the water has so damag’d it,  
 That none but priests could ever read it since.

I have known a *cobler*, may it please your lordship, that could not earn bread by his trade, yet has been dubbed a priest in our church established; and to do him justice, he *cobled* divinity as wretchedly as *old shoes*. Was this your reverend brother, my lord, within the line of succession? if not, I suspect there will be many more upon an equal footing. But allowing these *spiritual claimants* their pretensions, yet what do they succeed the apostles in? it may be said,—in their *unacquaintance* with human learning; but it is hoped none will pretend that they succeed them in the gifts of the spirit. They succeed likewise, in what the *apostles never had*,—some hundreds or thousands a year. They succeed the apostles too in *those very things* which *they honestly* rejected—lordly pride and prelatical jurisdiction. When *Paul* and *Barnabas* were represented as Gods, that came down in the likeness of men, they expressed a generous indignation at the mistaken homage that was paid them. But their *successors*, it seems, assume the *image of Gods*, and refuse to give up this *distinguishing character*, so as to sink themselves into a level with men. They must be sceptical with a witness, my lord, who dare presume to call the *church of Rome*, that *holy infallible mother*, an impure canal, through which you derive your commission? a church impure, that abounds with *pure unsophisticated wines and gold*! these *sceptical writers* are a tribe of crazy enthusiasts.



*enthusiasts*. It is an *impure canal*, as they call it, but *your lordship* knows better things.

Thus, my lord, as far as comported with my design, have I examined the most remarkable particulars in your *two charges to the clergy*. My view has been to do honour to *Christianity*, and as far as is *consistent therewith*, to your *lordship*. What has been advanced, proceeds from the most sacred regard to liberty, to virtue, and to mankind. If, my lord, you should think it necessary to have some animadversions upon what is written, the author begs leave to inform you, that he will be always ready to hear what is offered by men of *distinguishing character*; but shall think himself above taking notice of any *hired miscellanists*, that retail stupidity and scandal. Wishing your lordship a *happy and speedy translation* in this world, I do not mean *to the next*: I have only to add, that if convinced of any mistakes in what I have advanced, believe me, my Lord, I shall publicly retract, and as publicly subscribe myself, the very reverse of ecclesiastical subscribers, sincerely, and without pay,

Your LORDSHIP'S

Most dutiful son and servant,

in the bonds of uninterrupted

succession and infallibility,

A Revolutionary Tory.

A  
L E T T E R  
FROM THE  
J E S U I T S  
TO

Father *De La Pillonniere.*

IN ANSWER to

The LETTER sent to THEM by *that*  
*father*, and published by Dr. SNAPE,  
in his *vindication.*

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First Printed in the YEAR 1718.

VOL. I.

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A  
L E T T E R  
F R O M T H E  
J E S U I T S  
T O

Father *De La Pillonniere.*

*Reverend Father,*  
Pax Christi,

**W**E received your letter of the  
and much applaud you for your  
holy zeal, congratulating you on  
the success you tell us you have  
had, if such you have had. But, reverend fa-  
ther, we must freely tell you, that we cannot but  
doubt, that you flatter your self too much,  
when you fancy you have opened a way, that  
will bring back whole nations into the bosom

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of *our church*. The new method you have taken is so totally different from all those by which we have formerly had success in *heretical countries* and chiefly in *England*, that we exceedingly fear, you run the risk of all our hopes and labours at once, by this strange, and really (we must be free with you) to us unaccountable conduct. You cannot be, we know you are not, so weak as to expect, the re-establishment of the *infallible authority* of *holy church*, by overthrowing the *authority* of *men* in the *affairs of religion*; for that would be to set up *our authority*, by taking away *all authority*. You must be sensible how ridiculous this design is at first sight. If you are not, for the *blessed virgin's* sake, relinquish your mission, and come back to us; for you can do us no service where you are, in the way you are in.

But we persuade our selves of better things from your abilities, if you will but give your self the time to reflect. You know that our *infallibility* is a very troublesome *doctrine* to us; and that we are put to very hard shifts to defend it: you know we only take *it* up, in order to support with the better *grace*, the *authority* and *power* we claim over mens consciences, which cannot stand without *it*. You see therefore, that if you take away *authority*, you pull that down, for which only we build up *infallibility*, and without  
out

out which *infallibility* would be but a dead weight upon our hands.

You tell us, that you only run down *authority* unaccompanied by *infallibility*; and by that means expose the *clergy* of the *church* of *England* alone, who claim the *one* without the *other*; and so encline the *people*, when once you have made them heartily despise their own *clergy*, to embrace us. But you are widely mistaken; for you only expose those of the *clergy* there, and those *claims* of *theirs*, which are of unspeakable service to us; and which therefore you ought by all means to have encouraged and espoused. It is true, *they* are *contemptible*; and, when things are ripe enough, we shall find it easy to make *them* appear so to their own *people*: yet to be over-hasty in that matter, is to stop the growth and encrease of those things, which, if suffered to go on, and nourished, will in the end turn to *their* confusion, and *our* profit. And besides, *they* are not yet become *numerous* enough, to make it practicable for us to ruin the credit of the whole *clergy* by *their* means; which we must necessarily do, before we can succeed in our designs there. We therefore should study to obviate the ill effect, that some late *banters* upon *indisputable authority* have had on the people of *England*. We should study to take off the pretended ridiculousness of claiming, though *not to be infallible, yet to be always in the right*;

and of affirming that *those who may err, yet never do*; and not simply and weakly give into it, as you have done. These things do us incredible mischief, and if they go on, will utterly ruin all our hopes: and our letters from *England* inform us, that this dangerous way of thinking grows there every day more in vogue: if we cannot stop it, we are undone, past all retrieving.

It is with unspeakable grief, that we observe through all your *letter*, such *notions* and *projects* as encourage *those freedoms*, which must necessarily finish the ruin of *our cause*; and even sometimes almost makes us fear that you will in the end fall off from the *faith* yourself. You take a course wholly contrary to that of all our former and present *missionaries*, (perhaps unknown to you;) which has not been so *unsuccessful* as you fancy. For is it not *success* enough to have been able to work into the *breasts* of *people*, the very same *doctrines* which are abhorred in us, and were the *ground* of *separation* from us, only in *colours* a little, and very little, *different*? they, as well as you, thought it too mean a *view*, to make only *single* converts. They as well as you, projected the *recovery* of *whole nations* at once.

- But they have done, and still do it, (though you may be ignorant of it,) in a manner, that will at last effect it: you endeavour the same thing in a manner, that not only will never effectually do it,

but

but that overturns at once all that they have spent so much sweat and labour upon.

All our other *missionaries* have joined in with, and even excited the cry, of the *necessity of agreeing in one common rule of faith and worship*. They have urged the *authority of the church*, and sided with all that urged it : they have constantly, and very wisely, opposed *the use of private judgment in matters of religion* ; they have represented it as leading to *atheism and infidelity*, (which though it is no great compliment to religion, yet we take it very kindly from them ; because it does us vast service ;) they have never ceased to urge men to *renounce their reason, to disbelieve their senses, and to pay an implicit deference to the dictates of their spiritual guides*. By these means, they had not only well nigh established these doctrines in *England*, but had thoroughly disunited the *protestants* : (in the effecting of which our greatest strength always consists ;) till you came and threw all down again with your new and whimsical projects. The advantage we should have reaped from the doctrines is visible. Were they once agreed of the necessity of *unity and communion* ; why then (we might ask them) did you break off from the *unity and communion of holy church* at the pretended reformation ? why did you interrupt the *unity*, and set up a new and distinct *communion* ? if they allow the *authority of the church*,



we may well cry out upon them ; why did you then resist the *authority* of our *church*, to which you were once *subject*, as much as you can be now to your *own* ? if you say, we decreed things contrary to the *word of God* ; we answer, you are a *judge* of our decrees then, and not a *subject* to them ; you reject all *authority*, if you judge of it, and obey not *authority*, but your own frail *judgment* ; you set up *private judgment*, which just now you owned, led to *atheism* and *infidelity* : be consistent, renounce your reason, disbelieve your senses, pay an implicit deference to your spiritual guides, return to the *bosom* of your *holy mother the church*, who stretches out her arms to embrace you ; return to the *paps* that gave you suck, and from which you have so long gone astray ; and have nothing to do with those blind guides, which have misled you, without forsaking the *principles*, on which we would restore you. You may imagine how effectual these *reasonings* would prove if we had but a fair *opportunity*, and *power*, to support us, which we do not despair of having shortly, if we take the right methods to bring it about.

The *people* of *England* are indeed *knowing* and *inquisitive* to a certain degree, but yet may be *led blindfold*, if you will but take care to blind them by insensible steps. But your way of *blinding* them, by *opening their eyes*, will never do it. Your *mistake*

*take* is owing to that *lively imagination* you are often led away with: you fancy the *light of human reason*, like *that of the sun*, puts out the eyes that stare at it: you imagine that *liberty*, like *meat and drink*, surfeits those who take it in greedily. You are vastly out; for the *pretended light of human reason* is of that sort, that the more abundantly it flows in upon the mind, the more clearly the mind imagines, that it sees and discerns things; the more you *devour and drink in of liberty*, the more still your *vitious appetite* craves of it; the more you have taken in of it, the better it relishes, your eagerness after it is the keener, and you become the more uneasy and impatient without it.

You may fancy, as long you please, that you shall *wean them effectually from a fondness for their private judgment*, by *indulging*, by *feeding*, by *driving it to wantonness and excess*: but you will feel at last, that you nourish up a Monster, that will grow too strong for you to tame; that will of it self, whenever in the least encouraged, never fail of running into the greatest *wantonness and excess*. Will *dispossessing* people of *prejudices*, give them *those* that we desire to *possess* them with? will *filling them with scorn for what is settled*, merely because it is *settled*, teach them to submit implicitly to what is *settled* amongst us? and if you cannot do that, you do us no service. Will your *expatiating on the freedom of following the dictates of one's*

*own reason*, induce people to give up their *reason* to us, and come under the *slavery*, you know, we want to bring on them? will *encouraging all men in general, of what denomination soever, to revolt from their churches, as having no authority to impose terms of communion*, bring them to a *submission* to our *authority and impositions*? or will it not rather incite those, who are already in *subjection* to us, to *revolt from us*? will *exhorting every man to chuse a religion for himself, to reject all authority, in matters spiritual, and to be their own judges, and their own guides*, make any of them *chuse ours*; which forbids all *choice*, claims *absolute authority in spirituals*, and constitutes our *holy church* the only *judge, and guide*? these imaginations are so weak, that had we not seen them under your hand, we could not have believed you capable of them: nay, still we are almost tempted to suspect that some enemy of yours has forged this account for you. If these are your real thoughts, you are, what you say of others, *a knight errant in religion*, and not the wise and faithful *missionary* we took you for.

What you say next of the *divisions* and *subdivisions* of *protestants*, is right in it self, but is quite wrong, as you seem to understand it. The only *division* amongst *protestants*, that makes way for us, is such a *division* as makes them quarrel amongst themselves, and destroy one another.

The

The only *unity* amongst *them*, that is any way *dangerous* to us, is such a *unity*, as unites their hearts in mutual love and forbearance. Every other sort of *division*, is but an *apparent division*, wholly useless to our business; and every other sort of *unity*, whatever it may be to them, is of no importance at all to us. And therefore whilst you are allowing, and crying up the *right of private judgment*; of *following one's own conscience* and running down *persecution* on account of *conscience*; as you are putting an *argument* in the *mouths* of our *enemies* against us, who do actually deny the *one*, and practice the *other*: so you are likewise encouraging only such a *division* amongst *protestants*; as is of no manner of *service* to our *cause*, and at the same time, establishing that *union* amongst *them*, which alone ruins it.

Take care therefore, dear father, that instead of *effecting the so long desired, so often in vain attempted, recovery of these islands*, you do not, by the *new methods* you have taken, work more *in vain*, than all that have gone before you: nay, take care that you do not make us lose again, all the progress we have already made towards it; that you do not unfasten all the *holds* we yet keep, and by which we hope at length to draw *them* back to the *unity* of our *holy church*; that you do not offend all our *best friends*, as, we perceive, you have already offended *one* of them;

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that, in fine, you do not give a helping-hand to exterminate all the *remnants* of our *doctrines* amongst them, and to remove all *ground* for us to work upon for the future.

You say you are not a *protestant* in the bad sense, but a *protester* against those that *protested* against us. But, pray father, in what *points* have you *protested* against them? has it not been in *those*, in which you say they have not enough departed from us? has it not been in those *points*, that you have inveighed against *Martin Luther* and *Calvin*, those *coryphees* of the *pretended reformed religion*? and do you think, that the way to bring the *people* of *England* back to us, is to make them our more inveterate *enemies*, and to teach them to abhor every thing as it approaches to what we espouse, and as it resembles the spirit that reigns amongst us? this is indeed a *quite different method* from all that we ever put in *practice*: and you are, what your patron, as you call him, says of you, a *Jesuit*, in *all respects*, as *unlike all other Jesuits*, as *any protestants in the world can be*; but only you do us infinitely more injury, than any of them were ever capable of doing.

What you have said in your *reflections* on the *Roman catholics*, far from *casting a mist* before the  
eyes

*eyes of our adversaries*, has dispersed all *those* that we had *cast before them* already, and opened them more than ever against us. You have certainly exceeded the bounds of his holiness's dispensation, when you have contradicted every end of your mission, and have made us appear more *odious*, and which is worse, more *contemptible* than ever, to those, to whom you were to have shewn us in all our *beautifullest colours*. What if you have dropt some *softening expressions* for your particular friends; you have represented our *body*, and our *designs*, as *terrible*, and our *instruction* as *despicable*; by which *good character*, you have done what in you lies, to rob us of what we prize more than every other *privilege*, the *education* of the youth. You have lessened no one's *aversion* to us as a *body*; but you have found a way to add to it a *contempt* for our *learning*. The *aversion*, you fancy you have transferred from us, and fixed on others, has fallen only on *those*, who, whatever you think, we assure you, are our *best friends*, and our *greatest strength*.

We remember too well, that *our cause miscarried thirty years ago*, through the *unanimity of the heretics*; and therefore to prevent this for the future, you teach them to be *unanimous*, notwithstanding their *different apprehensions*, in *points of doctrine*,

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*doctrine*, and *ceremonies of worship*; you teach them to tolerate one another, and to join against us, their common enemy. Excellent advice! excellent guard for us! what you tell us of the *dissenters*, far from being *good news*, gives us a worse prospect than ever. If the *presbyterians* can tamely hear *Calvin*, and some of their own *synods*, turned into contempt, they have lost that *happy stiffness* they used to have, and which gave us so great *advantage*; and they now adhere only to *things*, which we never gain any good by meddling with. We cannot expect, whilst they keep this *temper*, to see them bite at that *bait*, which indeed we saw them reject thirty years ago; We mean, the *promise* we offered them to *subvert* only the church of England. We plainly see they desire only to have a *complete toleration*; and if a certain *bill* passes, (which our *emissaries* inform us is now in *agitation*, and which we have ordered them to *expose*, and exclaim against with all their force,) we do not question, but they will join powerfully in every thing against us, and redouble the *force* of the *heretical party* in England: and this is the *bill* which you have been promoting, with all your deep and refined *politics*.

You boast much of your *artifice*, in getting into the family of a *bishop* of the church of England;  
and

and you seem so weak as to fancy, that you overreach that Bishop, and make *him operate* to bring about your *ends*. Here really we pity you. Do you imagine yourself able to deal with the *greatest*, and *ablest*, *enemy*, that we ever had in *England*? will he, who has not, like others, pruned only some of our *superfluities*, which we would gladly part with, if we could do it with *honour*; but has cut away our very *foundations*, and removed almost every *root*, by which we hoped to revive, and spring up again in that *country*; will he, do you think, be caught by your little *traps* for him? No—he will make use of you to ruin us entirely; and, whenever he discovers you to be, what you are, will discard and despise you: nay, we fear if he has not already done it, (which heaven avert!) will inveigle you into *his party*, and make you as *sincere* an *enemy* to us, as you are now a *real one*.

Are these your *triumphs* for the *spouse of Christ*? Is this *breaking the bows of the ungodly*, to make them twice as *strong* as before? Is this *turning the poison of heresy to its own antidote*, to give such a *double dose* of it, as makes it have a *double effect*? we hope your *patron*, as you call him, will never be able to *screen you from the suspicion of insincerity*. Your *sincerity* does us more *mischiefs*, than your *insincerity*, even to us, could do. We should rejoice



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joice at your *Discovery*, (bating the private *ills* it would make you suffer,) as it would make your *injuries* to us less *effectual*, and discredit such *methods* for the future. We hope Dr. *Snape* will succeed in his *Investives* against you. And if you should suppose, we had sent him over the *letter* he published, you would have no reason to accuse us, as transgressing either the *rules* of *politics*, or *honesty*, after what we have suffered through your *heat*, (and we must call it by its true name,) *felly* : we judge the best of you.

You have indeed done us mighty *service*, in obtaining, that your *enemies* shall be stigmatised, as *ours*, and as *enemies* to a government, that is our *greatest enemy* ; and that under these *characters*, all our very good *friends*, and *allies*, shall pass as *odious*, and *infamous* to the world.

In order to persuade us of the *efficacy* of your new *method* of *converting*, you tell us of *two doctrines* of *ours*; that you have had the pleasure to see prevail in *England*, by being taught by those, whose *political notions* were of the *current stamp* ; and of *another*, that you fancy makes way for the *recovery* of our *rights* and *power*. We must tell you, what we thought you knew, that these *two doctrines* you mention, of the *love of God*, and of *prayer*, first, are not such as we teach; (though we are glad that they are represented as such by that arch-heretic bishop's

*enemies*

*enemies*, and rejoice to suffer this small *mark of infamy*, they are pleased to set on all that approach to us; as long as we have the *pleasure* to see it fixed upon *him* :) but if *they* were, it very little imports us, who care for those *doctrines* no otherwise, than as it concerns our *honour* to maintain, what we have once *unluckily* espoused.

The other *doctrine* which, you say, makes way for the *restoring* our *rights* and *power*, happens to do the very *contrary*. For, first, in the *disputes* amongst them, we know, (for we have seen most of what has been written on those *subjects*,) that the *power* of the *church* to inflict *temporal punishments*, in *matters of religion* and *conscience*, is utterly denied : and then, when the *dispute* is reduced to affirming these *powers* of the *civil magistrate*, that is denied too, by the *bishop's* side. And the reason given is, (an admirable one for us !) because no *man* being *infallible*, no *one* can be proper to be a *judge*, or a *governour* over the *consciences* of others. And then the *debate* turns into a private *wrangle*, whether a *dean* \*, who sometime ago affirmed this, affirmed it only of the *spiritual powers*, or of the *temporal powers* also ; which he *denies*, and every body else *affirms*. Now, what *advantage*.

\* Dr. Sherlock, then Dean of *Chichester*, late Bishop of *London*.

*vantage* are we to reap from all this? On the contrary, we fear, the greatest *disadvantages* from it. For, first, our *Infallibility* is *contested* on all hands; upon this *all-power* in the *church* over *consciences* is effectually given up: *what* *contests* remains, what *power* the *civil magistrate* has. If he is denied to have any, then *all power* over *conscience* is gone; which we cannot conceive to be a proper method of restoring it to us. Besides, you know, it is the *power* of the *civil magistrate*, that we must support in these *cases*; for the *church* inflicts none but *spiritual punishments*, which, *people* are now grown so hardened against the *church power*, as easily to bear. We only declare the *heretic*, and deliver him to the *secular arm*, whom we require to be the *executioner* of our *vengeance*. If therefore the *secular arm* is not to *interpose* in *matters of conscience*, He is not any more to execute our *sentence*; and all the *thunder* of our *censures* will fall to the ground, *barmless* and *unregarded*.

All these doctrines you boast of, as great *victories*, do in reality conspire to our ruin: The *magistrate* deprived of the *right of punishing men* on the account of *conscience*, becomes *useless* to our *purposes*; and all our *authority* is left without any *force*, or *effect*: teaching men to express *their love to God*, by keeping his *commandments* only, is  
teaching.

teach<sup>Q</sup> them to observe too nicely what his *commandments* are; and will accustom them insensibly *ours*, under the notion of the *convenience* of men: recommending, what they little *care* for, a *calm* and *rational* way of *praying*, will deprive all that *rapturous devotion*, raised by the *glorimefs* and *augustinefs* of our *churches*, by the *soft sound* of our *music*, by the *pomp* and *lustre* of our *glittering vestments*, of our *richly attired images*, and *ever-burning lamps* before them; which, tho' we do not require it so *strictly* of our settled *votaries*, yet we find of infinite benefit in gaining *profelytes to us*. And yet these things you neglect: you cry down the most useful *power* of the *secular arm*; and extol a close regard to the *commandments of God*, and a *spiritual*, and *rational service*, which can never possibly be of any *advantage to our cause*.

Be not concerned, *father*, that you should be left alone in so great a *mission*: we have *missionaries* enough besides You; and many more that we may call our *missionaries*, because they serve our *cause* as *effectually*, though not with so *meritorious an intention*, as they do. But you may be sure, whilst you oppose these *latter*, as hitherto you have done, we shall take care, that none of the *former* shall open *themselves* to you. We shall give you further reasons, when we have done with all the particulars of your *letter*: we are glad to hear that your *sa-*

tyr is exhausted, since it fell heaviest upon *us* and *our best friends* : we wish it had been much sooner spent.

But to come to your conclusion, which displeases us no less than the rest of your *letter* ; you give us a *specimen of the liberty* you have taken, (and indeed a very great one you have taken with us,) which almost forces us to look upon you, no longer as one of *ourselves*, but as the *rankest protestant* that ever the *Northern heresy* corrupted. You inform us of the use of the expression PROTESTANT POPERY, by improving which *pretty antithesis*, you think you have done us immense *service*. But we must tell you, nothing could do us a greater *injury*. That very *word* has embarrassed us more than any thing ; and the only way that is now left for us, is to do whatever we can to hinder the people from understanding it : but your *wisdom* thought proper to *paraphrase* it, and explain it more fully. Did not you see that the end of using that *expression*, was to make something more *odious*, by shewing how much it approached to *popery* ; to render something more ridiculous, by shewing how it mixed *Popish proceedings*, with *protestant principles* ? And yet you could not be at rest, till you had embellished upon it, in a *marginal note*, and fairly warned the *world*, of our *spirit of domineering, of imposition, of animosity,*

*sity, of persecution; &c. which, you very prudently say the protestants condemn with justice; and make it their reproach, that they imitate us in it; and which, you add, is all that is most odious, amongst us: and then, for a finishing stroke you subjoin, what is worst of all, that this is, in your opinion, THE ONLY INSUPPORTABLE THING IN POPERY, which in ours is, the only thing that can support it.*

These things are far from persuading us that you are so *sincerely attached to our interest*, as you would have us think; or, if you are *ours* still, they convince us, that you are, at least whilst you persist in this new method, in no capacity at all of *promoting it*.

But we have other reasons to fear the worst of you: not your own *account of your own conduct*, which is bad enough; not your *public vindication of yourself*, which is worse: but the certain *informations of our missionaries, whom we ordered to watch you narrowly, upon your neglecting, for so long a time as you have been gone from us; to give us any account of your proceedings, and upon the reports we heard from other hands, of your odd behaviour, and your reservedness to those, with whom you should have been the most free in communicating yourself, and concerting affairs with them.*

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As for your neglect of *transmitting* accounts, of what pass, to us, you would excuse yourself on the *want of a safe conveyance*; which we never yet heard any of our *missionaries* complain of; and which we are the more shocked at from a man of your *abilities*.

As to your *reservedness*, and your other *behaviour*, we do not see what you can find to say in *justification* of it; especially when we let you know that we have been well informed, that in your letter to my Lord George Howard, the objections against our church were couched in the *strongest terms*; that you had almost perverted that *good lord*; and, as far as we can judge, really designed to do it. You may guess whether that *English gentleman* whom you affronted, and laughed at in *my lord's house*, and at the *coffee-house*, took it very well; or could think you a *true friend* to our cause, when he both heard your *conversation*, which you imagined he did not *understand*, and saw your letter full of *expressions*, as all your other *late works* are, fit only for the mouth of the *vilest heretic*.

Did you only *seem* to argue against our church, when you met *two* of our fathers, on account of *two young gentlewomen*, who were become *converts to us*; and so puzzled them on the subject of *church authority*, that they protest,

test, they never were so confounded in their lives?

You see, that we have not been without *spies* upon you, however you have sought to conceal yourself from us. We could tell you many other particulars of your *private conduct*, that are as displeasing to us, as these; but we spare you now, in hopes of your *amendment*.

You know very well, that we never allow any one, that is already *ours*, to be lost, for the carrying on *schemes of imaginary conquests*.

Whilst such is your conduct, we rejoice at every abuse you suffer. We value at a high rate, the service which Dr. *Snap*, and those others that follow *his example*, have done us; (though, to tell you the truth, we cannot much esteem their *persons*;) both, as we hope it will serve to reclaim you, and convince you of the *fruitlessness* of that way of *proceeding*; and as we cannot doubt, but that, if you are at all wavering in your *attachment* to us, it will fully resettle you, by shewing you what *usage* you are to expect at their *hands*, if you should become *one* of them, and what *thanks* you are like to get for such a *piece of treachery* to us.

Another *pleasure* this *usage*, that you have met with, gives us, when we reflect on it, is, that it will effectually put a stop to all *conversions from us*, as you call them. They have that notion



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notion here of the *barbarities* you have suffered, that every body seems to startle at the thought of going over to such a *country*. You may be sure we *exaggerate* every instance of your *treatment*; though indeed it has an appearance of being so *cruel*, and *inhospitable*, that it does not stand in need of much more, than being barely told: and that we never fail to do, both to 'our own *Eleves*, and where-ever we go. We make them believe, that the whole *church* of *England* is engaged in that *behaviour*, which indeed the *doctor*, and his *friends* are only obliged to answer for. We tell them, that all the *anger* against you, arises for your *zeal* against us, and because you *differ too widely* from us; (for every one here is not let into the *secret* of your *mission*.) We represent to them, how willingly and readily the *church* of *England* would re-unite with us, if it were not for some few *odd and singular Christians* that disturb every thing. We repeat to them passages out of Dr. *Snape*. We shew them, that he perfectly agrees with us, in obliging men to SUBMIT TO THE YET UNEXAMINED DECISIONS OF THE CHURCH; in maintaining the right, TO TERRIFY AND KEEP IN AWE MEN IN THEIR RELIGIOUS CAPACITY; which you know, are the darling *tenets* of our *church*. We make them believe, that all the  
*church*

*church* of *England* receive these things joyfully, and with approbation : that they are opposed by none, but those *odd and singular Christians*, who are looked upon as the very worst of *heretics* and *schismatics* for their pains ; and are called *presbyterians*, and *fanatics*, and every thing that is most *edious*, on that account.

Now we own, that is not strictly true ; we know these *doctrines* are contrary to the *foundation* of that *church* of *England* ; which stands on the right of refusing to *submit to the decisions of our church*, to which they were then *subject* ; and on the *denial* of our *right*, to *terrify and keep in awe men in their religious capacity* ; which if we had not then, it is very impudent in them to pretend to now : yet, though we know all this, and that many *able men* in *England* oppose these *notions* for that very *reason*, and see the *consequences of them* distinctly ; though we know the *doctrines* of their *church* are directly in *words* opposite to *these*, however in *rules of practice* they may contradict themselves : though we know all this perfectly, yet we find *misrepresentation* of this sort is of such infinite benefit to our cause, that, in this case, we make use of our known arts, to distinguish or confound, to speak truth or falsehood, and to do good or evil, as the interest of *holy church* shall require. (One would think, *some* amongst you had just the same

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*dispensation*, that we have ; for they seem to us to take just the same *liberties*.)

We found some of our own youth, and many others here, in a very *wavering disposition*, that we were afraid would have led them cross the sea, before we were aware of it ; but these *happy accounts* from *England* seem to have entirely altered their *designs*, and to have tied them to us firmer than ever. The *reception* you have found in *England*, and the *stories* we tell them of that *country*, which *they with you* have been so kind as to give us admirable *appearances* to support, frighten them from all thoughts of *going over* to a *church*, that they think is *coming over* to them ; and that seems enraged at all that *come over* to what it was at first, and what, on its *erroneous principles*, it should still be.

You must know, that no one here, but among ourselves, suspects in the least your *change of religion*. They look on you, and talk of you, as the *rankest Huguenot* ; we hope without reason. Though really, if you are still *ours*, as you profess yourself to us, you have *acted your part* most perfectly ; and the reallest *convert from us*, as your *patron* loves to call them, could not possibly have given more evident *marks* of his change : *demonstrations* we may call them ; for they almost deceive us, to whom you protest the contrary ; to such a degree, that, notwithstanding

standing our good opinion of you, we can scarce bring ourselves to believe your *words* against your *actions*. If your *enemies* in *England* abuse you, because they question the *sincerity* of your change, you cannot but laugh at their stupidity, for they can have no *ground* for such a *suspicion*, not knowing your *heart*, as we do : if they use you so, because they are angry at you for it, which appears most probable to us ; we are all vastly obliged to them, and conceive great *hopes* of them ; and when it is time to open yourself, you ought to thank them extremely for it.

There is another *advantage*, of which you have been the *accidental occasion*, and which we should have heartily thanked you for, if you had not laid us under much greater *disadvantages* another way ; that is, your *writings*, and your *living* with that *arch-heretic bishop*, have driven his *antagonists* to fall, in *defence* of themselves, into all our most *beloved doctrines*, as we have shewn you before ; and by that means, when they shall have destroyed all the *props* of *protestantism*, lay themselves open to be an *easy prey* to us, and render our *conquest* over them very *natural* and *practicable*. It will be always in our *power*, when the proper time comes, to *expose* and *wilify* them in the *eyes* of their own *people*, by shewing evidently, that on the *prin-*

principles they own, their *schism* is altogether left unjustifiable; that they are *self-condemned*; and that if they do not return into the bosom of the catholic church, it must be owing to their *private interest*, which makes them contradict their own *concessions*. And if they ever offer to complain of us, when we get power into our hands, for *terrifying them*, and *keeping them in awe*, we shall be able to appeal to their own *declarations*, whether they do not justify us; and tell their people, that it is plain, they would have assumed to themselves, what they unjustly deny to others.

These things we would have allowed you to *make merry with* in private, had you been as *cautious*, as you should have been in other points; and we assure you, we make ourselves very *merry* here with these things: we heartily condemn those *tools* that promote only our *interests*, without knowing, or intending it; and we only wish to get them to throw themselves into our hands, (as they certainly will, if you let them alone,) that we may thoroughly insult them for their *folly* and *impudence*.

You see, *father*, we do not hide our *obligations* to you, where you have done us *service*; but are free to own them: so, the *injuries* you have done us by your *conduct* far outweighing them, we must be as free with you, on that head.

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You have *acted your part*, we confess, very naturally : but then you have over-acted it, (we mean, if you are still *sincere* to us,) and have fallen in the *error*, that *over-artificial* people often fall into, of straining *cunning* so far, that it comes to be *folly*, and has all the *effects* of it.

This has been your failing, whilst you exposed *them* who were something *like us*, for being *like us*, you at bottom exposed us, as *those* whom it was a shame to *resemble*. Whilst you turn into ridicule the *authority* of the *church* in *matters* of *conscience*, and the *right* of *prosecuting heretics* on that account, and the obligation of the *civil powers* to exterminate with fire and sword, whomsoever we declare to be so ; you alienate the minds of men from what we cannot subsist without. When you translated a *letter to his holiness* \*, you translated the *piece*, that, of all that ever were published against us in *England*, did us the greatest *disservice*. A *piece*, that ridiculed every pretence among the *protestant churches*, that countenances *ours* ; all the *mysteries*, all the *ceremonies*, all the *inventions*, all the *party notions*, and zeal against *disfenters*, and all the *prosecutions* of them ; in short, every thing that bears any image of *our church*,

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\* See Bishop Hoadly's letter to the pope, prefixed to Sir Richard Steele's account of the Roman catholic religion.

that gives us any *advantage* over them, any *hopes* of reclaiming them : that ridicules all our *best friends*, and *helpers* in the *cause* : that recommends a *unity*, and *charitable toleration* amongst *protestants*, which will always be most *fatal* to us : that cries up the *character* of a *KING*, whom we dread above all things, both on account of his *personal virtues*, that at the bottom we cannot deny, or at least cannot prevail upon people to believe us, when we do, and on account of his *power* and *influence*, that, we see with grief, grows every day greater, both at home and abroad ; and, lastly, which alarms us more than any thing besides, is like to rouse your *universities*, out of the *ignorance*, they were happily buried in, and which we are well informed was encreasing very fast among them, into such a *sort of learning*, as is always most *terrible*, and *pernicious*, to our *designs*. And then your *preface* and *postscript* to this *odious piece*, was every thing that could be bad against us : and what we cannot explain to ourselves, without supposing you the *basest betrayer* of us, or the *weakest man* alive.

The happy *ignorance* and *stupidity*, that, not without our helping hand, was spreading itself all over *England*, took its rise from the *universities*, (where, we assure you, we have no small power,) these *fountains of ignorant learning*,  
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have been disturbed by you, and those whose party you have espoused : that *mist*, which we had taken such pains to raise, and under covert of which, we hoped shortly to have surprized them, we now see almost *dispelled* by one of our own favourite missionaries, and his friends. A spirit of enquiry, a most dangerous spirit seems to start up every where ; even in the universities themselves, where we thought ourselves most secure. If it cannot be immediately suppressed, we must hope for no fruits from our labours there ; nor lose our time any longer upon so hopeless a soil : for you may depend upon it, as fast as it gains ground, we shall lose it. If that spirit be indulged ever so little at first, it soon grows out of the power of man to restrain it ; and, as we told you before, runs to that wantonness and excess, that nothing upon earth can ever govern it : darkness is our only hope ; if men think they see their way, they will not accept of guides to shew it them ; and especially such guides, as we pretend to be, that must blindly be followed, or not at all.

Darkness is of such use to us in religion, that we have introduced it even into our material churches : and it is inexpressible, what a mysterious and the dim religious light of our tapers casts upon our people ; what a sacred horror they feel within themselves for us, who are ministers of those ho-



*ly places* ; how it makes them afraid of *examining* too nicely into the *oracles*, which we deliver from our *sacred caverns* ; how the *glittering* of our *vessels*, and *habits*, *dazzles* their *eyes*, and makes them see every thing, as we instruct them to see it ; in fine, how obedient they are to what we, who keep them every where so in the *dark*, command them. Encourage therefore a *dark submission* in every thing to the *decisions* of the *church* : this can never be *driven to wantonness, and excess* ; for the less you allow them to *see*, the more still they desire to be *blinded*. But *light* and *clearness* destroy us ; and immediately make people fancy themselves as *wise*, and as *quick-sighted* as we are.

These, you, who have lived so long with us, must know to be our *constant maxims* : and what thoughts can we have of you, to see you act in every point the direct contrary to them ?

The *evil spirit* you and your friends have raised beyond sea, does not stop there, which we could the more easily bear : but begins to reach us *here* in *France*, and is like to ravish from us, not only the hopes of farther *conquests*, but even the quiet *possession* of what we already enjoy. They begin even here, taking example from the *heretics*, to assume the *audaciousness* of questioning some of the most *sacred decisions*, and *mysteries*, of our *church*. Some have the *insolence* to pretend to  
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read the *scriptures* without our leave; and, which is worse, to judge for themselves the *sense* of them. If they would let us *explain* it to them; and would always *submit* to our *explanations*, as you see many *heretics* do to the *coryphees* of their churches; we could bear it with less regret: we could tell them, as *those* do *their* people, that we adhere to the *scriptures*, that we give them the true *meaning* and *reading* of it, that we admit *them* to be the *rule of faith*; but that we understand *them* better than they can; that their *education*, and *want* of *learning* makes them *incapable* of such *studies*; that much *time* and great *abilities* are *requisite* for such a *search*; that therefore, *en attendant*, they had better *take our word*, till they have *examined*, (which yet we would persuade them, they can never do,) and submit entirely to our *explications*, and as yet *unexamined decisions*. But even in this way there is danger, as you see by the example of the protestants, who will not be kept in, by such *specious professions* of their *masters*, when once they are allowed the sight of those *pernicious books*.

However, as that *seeming liberty* and *real slavery* is contrary to the *principles* of *protestantism*, and is a nearer *approach* to us, you should not have opposed it, or ridiculed it; but should have joined in extolling the great *good nature*, and *condemnation* of such *allowances*.

But you on the contrary have stood up, not only for opening the *scriptures* to the people, but even for their *understanding*, and *explaining* it for themselves; which we can never permit, or bear.

What hopes can we have of you, when we see you have done us this greatest of all mischiefs? Had you to do with *absolute idiots*, your *method* might possibly have *success*: But as you own the *people of England* are *inquisitive*, how could you hope for *any* by such means?

How much *wiser*, and more *agreeable* to our *practice*, would it have been, to have laid hold on the fairest *opportunity* that ever yet offered itself to us? When at the *accession* of this *present King*, you first went over to *England*; when you saw all the people set against *him*, flocking after *Sacheverell*, and the rest of his *enemies*; when the word *church* was made use of, with such *success*, to inflame the spirits of the *giddy mob*; when you saw every thing working toward the *rebellion* that afterward broke out *too soon*; when you saw the *English* bear the view of a *popish prince* with *patience*, and even *wish* for him with *eagerness*; when *popery* was grown less *odious*, and almost *familiar* to many; when a great party in the *English clergy*, were preaching up the very *doctrines* we delight in, of *uninterrupted successions*, of *authoritative absolutions*, and *benedictions*,  
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ons, of the great powers of the *spiritual princes* of the church, as we both love to call them : when every thing thus made the way easy before you ; how much greater a conduct, and how much liker to that of a missionary of ours, had you shewn, if you had joined with them, and helped them to blow up the flame, that was already kindled to your hands ; than obstinately to have taken a new course of your own, and obstructed all these vast efforts, that must necessarily have ended to our advantage, had they been as well managed, as we know you could have managed them !

What a glorious harvest might we by this time have reaped, had you kept to our maxims ? And what treasures have you robbed us of by deserting from them ? When we reflect on these things, we can scarce think with patience of your conduct.

This makes us remember your old obstinacy in Father Hardouin's affair, which, you stretch your cunning to persuade us to forget, and to believe, what we well remember, to be only a story forged for the heretics : but we indeed thought that was only the effect of youthful heat ; which if we had suspected to be still in you, we should never have employed you in such a mission ; but which now we fear is too deeply rooted in you.

Nay we cannot, till you satisfy us better, but believe that you have really left and betrayed us.

We are forced on this account, to order all our *missionaries* to join with *Snape* and *Graverol*; and your other *enemies*, to decry you. You must either immediately change your whole *conduct*, or leave your *mission*, and come back to us ; or else openly *desert* us. We will not be any longer left in suspense about you ; or leave you to follow your own *fancies*, to undo us.

But that you may not think we judge too rashly of your *intentions* toward us, we resolve to try you once more ; and send you these *instructions*, which we command you, in *virtue* of the HOLY OBEDIENCE, punctually to observe.

1. Leave immediately that *beretic's* house, in which you now live ; and have no farther communication with *him*, Dr. *Clark*, or with any of their *adherents*, or any who hold *principles* like *theirs* : for we are assured, that nothing can ever accrue to us from that *quarter*, but *mischiefs*.

2. Cry out, inveigh, rave against all their *doctrines* : call *sincerity* the high road to *atheism* and *infidelity* ; for, if it be allowed that men must be *sincere*, and that their *salvation* depends upon their being so, they must *enquire* ; and if they *enquire*, they will *judge*. We do not bid you argue on these *heads* ; but *exclaim* against them : *vilify* the *characters* of the *men* who teach them : stick at no *calumnies* you can raise against them :  
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in fine, follow the excellent *example*, that *some* of the *divines* of that *church* have set before you. Accuse them of all the *blackest designs* of destroying their own *church*; represent them as even *enemies* to the *king's supremacy*, where you find that will do you any service; and, where that *topic* will not be apt to prevail, paint them as the *vilest heretics*, who would pull down all the *powers* and *institutions*, that are necessary to the very *being* of the *church*. If they should answer you, never *understand* them *right*; but persist in *misrepresenting* them, but always with the *appearance* of desiring to know their *meaning*, of wishing to see them *justify* themselves, and of the most sensible *grief*, to see yourself obliged, for the *interests* of *Christianity*, to oppose them.

3. Embrace Dr. *Snape*, and Mr. *Graverol*, and all their *adherents*; beg them pardon for having once dared to oppose them; lament with *tears* your *errors*; rejoice in your *conviction*, which, tell them, they were the happy *occasions* of. Espouse all their *principles* and *doctrines* heartily; for, you may depend upon it, we shall, in the end, reap the only benefit from them.

There is another *performance* we have lately seen, called *suspiria sacra*, dedicated to the *archbishop of Canterbury*, which we would have you zealously cry up; because of *one passage* in the *dedication*, which recommends to the world the

the religion of *Augustus*, that is, the *established religion* of every country, *heathen, or Christian, or Mahometan, protestant, or papist; or whatever it happens, or ever may happen to be.* This seems indeed at first sight; not to be much to our *advantage*, the *establishment* in *England* happening now to be against us. But it is very much : for first, it secures to us what we already possess, by removing every other *consideration*, but that single *one of establishment*, all *right or wrong, truth or falsehood*, and consequently all *private judgment* ; then it condemns all past *reformation*, that has been pretended to be made from the *then establishment*, and effectually prevents any further progress in it, where it has stopt short, as all *reformation* is departing from the *present establishment* ; and consequently prevents all such farther *distance* from us, as might possibly deprive us of all our remaining *hopes* ; it leaves us all the *advantages* we at present have against them, and much *room* to make fresh *attacks* upon them ; and lastly, it lays up in *store for us*, against the time when we shall come to have the *dominion* over them, an *excellent argument* to preserve it, as it will then be *the established religion of their country.*

4. Extol with the greatest zeal the *authority of the church*, over the *consciences of men* ; the *obligation of submitting to the unexamined decisions*  
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of *IT*; the right it has to call on the magistrate to terrify and keep in awe men in their religious capacity; the absolute necessity of being in one communion, without allowing of any excuses under the pretence of a tender conscience; the divine rights of the clergy; the necessity of an uninterrupted succession to give them any rights; the certain effects of human benedictions, and absolutions; the impossibility of salvation where they are wanting, and where they are not dispensed by regular and uninterrupted successors; their equality with the sacraments and institutions of Christ. Encourage, and promote with the utmost fervor all these notions; which are indeed huge absurdities on the principles, that the protestants pretend to, but are very consistent upon ours. But take care that you do not let them too hastily into the secret, that these doctrines necessarily lead to our church. The step from them to us grows so small, that in time we shall easily draw them to the closest union with us; especially when they see the power and preferment come over to our side before them. In the mean while, we have others, of a less figure than you, to make their advantages of these things in private conversions. Do you mind the main business; and while they think you are defending them, you will be really undermining them, and building up for us: you will



will insensibly render them *ridiculous*, and *contemptible* ; and us *powerful* and *formidable*.

5. Therefore justify the *convocation* in all its *proceedings* ; cry them up as *glorious defenders* of their *church* against its most *potent enemies*. Dwell upon their *commendation* ; be more *zealous* for them, if possible, than they are for themselves : *sigh at*, or *rail at*, as is most convenient, the *royal prerogation*, that was sent them *last spring* : tell what *noble feats* they would have done, had they been suffered to proceed at that time ; what *service* to the *church*, what *honour* to *Christianity* ! *Make as merry* with these things in private, as you please ; provided you are sure you are only with *friends* : but in public put on the most *solemn* and *zealous face* you are capable of.

6. Oppose vehemently all *union of hearts* and *affections* among *protestants*, either with the *reformed churches*, as they call them, *abroad*, or with the *different sectaries at home*. Employ all your *bottest zeal* against this. We told you before, that this was the only *unity* we dreaded. Represent therefore the *reformed abroad*, and the *dissenters of England*, as no *Christians*, as wanting *episcopal ordination*, a *regular succession*, *authoritative absolutions* and *benedictions*, *true sacraments*, and every thing that *constitutes a church*, or a *communion*. Here you may venture to sof-

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ten them a little toward us, as having all these things in *perfection*, however we may *err* in other matters : you may assure them, whatever *odd and singular Christians* may say of us, that we have the *essentials* of a *true church*, and are good *Christians*, though we may be in some things *erroneous* ; and that, whatever *faults* we may have, we are infinitely *preferable* to *presbyterians*. This cannot shock them : for many of their own *corruptees* have been loudly applauded for saying it.

7. The more effectually to prevent such a *dangerous union*, as we have been speaking of, insist on the *absolute necessity* of another *unity*, that will never do us any *harm*, but will for ever put a *stop* to such a *one* as we fear ; we mean, a *unity in opinions*. As we know this is *impracticable* among *men*, and that nothing will ever so much as bring to pass the *appearance* of it, but an *inquisition*, or *dragooning* ; (*our method*, and the only *wise method* of *prosecution* ;) so the endeavouring to force it without these *helps*, will make them only lose their labour, and weaken themselves, by exasperating them against one another, and dividing them the more *effectually*, and *irreconcilably* amongst themselves ; and will always give us great advantages against them all. You know how much even we are really divided, who have the *infallible chair* of *St. Peter* for a *center of unity* ; but *fear* keeps us *quiet*,  
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and makes us *submit*, whenever any thing is once determined *there*. The present madness of the *Jansenists* here, looks like an exception to this; but we esteem them as *bad*, or rather *worse*, than *Huguenots*; and hope very shortly to put an end to their *vain struggles*. However, in the main, such is the nature of mankind, nothing can hinder *disunion*, but either *terror*, or *love* and *charity*. The *latter* does it more certainly, and constantly; therefore by all means prevent it: for if such *unity* should prevail in *England*, we lose at once all ground to work on. Encourage the people, heartily to hate one another, for every, the smallest, difference in *religion*, whether in the *doctrines*, or *ceremonies* of it: and be sure to call every *habit*, *gesture*, or *notion*, that any *one* has a fondness for, *religion*. Drive them on to *fury*, against all that differ from them in any of *these*. Represent every small *dissention* as *intolerable*; and as what will justify all *ill usage* and *severity*. Be not afraid of going too far in this: you can never here drive them to *wantonness* and *excess*: but you will make them on all hands, without knowing it, clear the way to our *re-establishment*; when they shall have sufficiently weakened *themselves*, and strengthened *us*.

8. In order to make a *unity of opinion* appear the more necessary, declaim much on the *mysteriousness*

*riousness* and *darkness* of religious matters. And here you have an admirable opportunity of crying out against *private judgment*. Tell them that every one is not capable of *judging* about such things: that those *mysteries* are above our *understandings*; (and be sure to make every plainest doctrine a *mystery*;) that it is *pride* and *arrogance* to pretend to explain them to *human apprehension*; that therefore all men ought to submit to *them* blindly, and implicitly; that *understanding* is in no degree necessary to *believing*; nay, that it is *impious* to *understand religion*. Rail without ceasing against those that have been so daring as to offer at making *religion* intelligible, and supporting it by reason: call them *heretics*, and *enemies of religion*: give them all the *odious appellations* your *fancy* can invent, And, though they be even defending *faith* by *reason*, accuse them, as setting up *reason* against *faith*. You will not find it difficult to persuade the *common people* of this, and to encrease their *aversion* to *such persons*, who are always our greatest *enemies*. And besides, you will wean them from the *itch* of *enquiring*, and *understanding*, and *judging* for themselves, and enrage them against all who do not *submit* blindly, to what they submit to.

It is therefore, with great *regret*, that we find you have been employing your self to *translate* the *works* of Dr. Clark, which very imprudently, to

to say no worse, you call *incomparable*. We forgot to tell you of this before. But now we charge you to leave off your *design*, if you had any, of meddling with *them*; unless you could answer *them*. Let alone *clear heads*; for they are *dangerous*. You know we love most to engage with such *adversaries*, as through their *fear* of denying *too much*, concede *enough* for our *purpose*, and give us the best *advantages* against them. But with *him*, and such as follow *him*, avoid arguing. Abuse him, revile him, call him every where a *Socinian*, a *deist*, and an *atheist*. No matter for the contradiction, it will easily go down with *some*. Say, he has robbed *religion* of its *holy mysteries*, by pretending to bring to *light* those *revealed* things, which must always lie *hid*. Let this be all you have to do with him; but shun any *dispute* or *conversation* with *him*, for you can obtain no *advantage* from him, and he may do you a great deal of *harm*.

9. We charge you to oppose, with the utmost *vigour*, all *public acts*, which shall be proposed in favour of *liberty* and *toleration*. Represent the *want* rather of new *restraints*, and the necessity of adding greater *powers* to the *church*, to *terrify* offenders against *her laws*, and to maintain *orthodoxy* and *uniformity*; and particularly clamour against a *bill*, that we hear is now in agitation, for repealing the *bills* against *schism*, and *occasional*  
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conformity. If that *bill* should pass, we are in great danger ; for it would *unite* protestants, into such a *union*, as will destroy all our hopes. Describe the *dissenters* in all the *worst* colours ; as greater *enemies* to *church* and *state*, than *we* are ; as people incessantly labouring its *ruin* ; and, which will prevail most with many, as *those* who would rob the *church* of all its *wealth* and *dominion* ; the preserving of which (to say the truth boldly) is *the one thing needful*. Load them with all their *ancestors* did an *age* ago ; conceal every thing that may in any degree *justify* them, or soften the minds of people toward them. Own the helping hand they gave to the *revolution* ; but then affirm that the *revolution* ruined, impoverished and enslaved *England* : do not fear being caught in *contradictions* : the zeal you will spirit up against *those* people, will make any thing go down smoothly. If you are discomfited in one *place*, nevertheless affirm it without *shame*, and still fight the *lord's* battles, in another. In short, leave no stone unturned to *exasperate* people against the *dissenters* ; and to frighten the *government* from attempting any thing for their *relief*. We have always found these methods to have *success* : and you have seen them made use of to very good purpose, by several *late* writers of their own.

Be sure to join in with the *cry* of the '*danger*' of the *church*, and seem much to *fight* over it.

Often

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Often speak with the utmost concern of the *black designs* against *her* : and to aggravate it say, that they come not from *her enemies*, but from *her familiar friends* ; from *persons* of great *stations* and *characters* in *her*.

Let the *church* never be out of *danger*, whilst we are in *danger* : and be sure to let its *danger* encrease always, in proportion as you find our *interest* decreases ; as any thing is brought on the stage, as a farther *security* against us ; as any thing is proposed to make the *dissenters* easier ; as you perceive *liberty*, and what they call their *rational religion*, to gain ground, or *submissiveness* to *authority*, and, what they call *superstition*, to diminish ; in short, as your present *king* comes to sit firmer on his *throne*, and to be in less danger of losing it. Inflame the *spirits* of the *people*, with the most melancholly *views*, of seeing their *church* overturned, and all *religion* abolished. Represent all *freedom*, as a step to this : raise them to that heat, (be sure to call it *zeal*,) that they may even take up *arms* in the defence of them. And by this means you will revive the *rebellion* : they will fight our cause with much greater *fury* than before, possessed with this new *enthusiasm*, which always excites the fiercest courage.

10. Therefore the chief thing we recommend to you, is to blacken the *king*, and his *government*. We forgot to tell you the *resentment* we had, for  
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some *poems* and *panegyrics*, we heard, you had made upon *him*. Make up that *faul* by a diligent *abuse* of *him* for the future. Hint at the worst *designs* against the *liberty* of the people; rail against the *standing army*: for nothing provokes us more, than the *king's* being in a *posture* to defend *himself*; and the *confidence* we see his *people* have in him. Misrepresent every *step* of the *administration*: and, as *they* do not give you occasion to do even this, stick at no *invention* to discredit *it*: you know your *dispensation* will bear you out in any thing of that nature. Insinuate, as often as you find opportunity, what a *glorious* and *flourishing* state the church would be in, if their *rightful* and *lawful* king, who is now in *Italy*, were settled on that *throne*. Oh! if we could but once see that *happy time*, how should we *triumph*, and *make merry* with the *slaves*, who had helped *him* thither? they would quickly find, that we alone would reap the *harvest*, which they had spent so much labour and sweat to bring up. But however, this is to be a *secret*, till the thing be accomplished. Spare no *promises*, nor *oaths*, that may be *requisite* on this *occasion*; the same *dispensation* which allows you to *make*, permits *us* to *break* them.

These, *father*, are our *instructions*, which we command you to obey, in virtue of the *holy obedience*, which you are obliged to by your most *solemn*,



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*lemn, and solely indispensable oaths. Recover the place you have lost in our minds by your past conduct; and requite the injuries you have done us, with a more than ordinary zeal for the future. If you do this, you may hope on your return, for all the advancement our society is able to bestow upon you. If you leave and betray us, you see what you are to expect in England; to be a hated and condemned proselyte. If you design to return hither: consider whether you would rather chuse to be a superior, or provincial, or perhaps sometime or other, even general of our society; or to visit La Fleche for the second time. In the mean while, hoping the best of you, we remain, in the participation of your holy sacrifices,*

*Your dear brothers,*

*and sincere friends,*

The fathers of the society  
of JESUS.

*The END of the FIRST VOLUME.*

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